

HISTORY OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI



By Dr. G. M. THEAL

THE YELLOW AND DARK-SKINNED PEOPLE OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

A Description of the Bushmen, the Hottentots, and particularly the Bantu, with fifteen Plates and numerous Folklore Tales of these different People

SERIES I

HISTORY AND ETHNOGRAPHY OF AFRICA SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

From the Settlement of the Portuguese at Sofala in September 1505 to the Conquest of the Cape Colony by the British in September 1795

- Vol. I. The Portuguese in South Africa from 1505 to 1795.
Vol. II. Foundation of the Cape Colony by the Dutch.
Vol. III. Account of the Dutch, Portuguese, Hottentots, and Bantu to September 1795.

SERIES II

HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA SINCE SEPTEMBER 1795

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HISTORY OF AFRICA

SOUTH OF THE ZAMBESI

FROM THE SETTLEMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE
AT SOFALA IN SEPTEMBER 1505 TO THE
CONQUEST OF THE CAPE COLONY BY
THE BRITISH IN SEPTEMBER 1795

BY

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THE GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY OF LISBON, ETC., ETC., ETC.

IN THREE VOLUMES
WITH MAPS AND PLATES

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THE PORTUGUESE IN SOUTH AFRICA FROM
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NOTICE.

As the chapters dealing with a description of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Bantu that appeared in previous editions of this history have been greatly enlarged, and are now published as a separate work entitled *The Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa south of the Zambesi*, I have taken them out of this volume and have made use of the space they occupied to add information upon subjects closely connected with the occupation of part of South Africa by the Portuguese. I have also indexed this volume separately from the others of the series, in order to avoid mixing Portuguese names with those of different nationalities. Otherwise the alterations and additions made in the text upon close revision have been very few indeed, in many chapters none at all.

GEO. MCCALL THEAL,

Wynberg, South Africa, April 1916.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA

FROM SEPTEMBER 1505 TO SEPTEMBER 1795.

CHAPTER I.

SHORT ACCOUNT OF PORTUGAL AND HER PEOPLE IN EARLY TIMES.

THE history of South Africa can only be given with absolute accuracy since the commencement of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, when the Portuguese planted a settlement at Sofala, and manuscript records of the events that took place began to be preserved. There is indeed material in abundance here as in Europe from which an earlier history can be framed, but in many respects it will be vague, and its chronology can only be conjectural. Thus the great quantity of stone implements found in places where they must have lain undisturbed for countless centuries, which are precisely similar to those used by a particular class of savages easily distinguishable from all other people, when Europeans first met them, together with paintings and engravings on rocks and remains of skeletons, particularly crania, indicate that Bushmen were the aborigines of the country, and are evidence of their mode of life, but supply no dates and record no particulars.

There are means too of ascertaining that the Hottentots along the western and southern coasts and the Bantu in the interior and along the eastern coast are immigrants of a not very remote time, but dates and

particulars are wanting with regard to them as with regard to the Bushmen. With the arrival of the Portuguese a civilised government was established, and information upon matters of all kinds was transmitted by the officials to the authorities in the home land, which was made use of by historians and geographers. Unfortunately most of the original manuscripts sent to Lisbon have been lost, but a sufficient number remain for comparison with the great histories of João de Barros, Diogo de Couto, Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, and Damião de Goes, and to fill in some particulars not mentioned by those writers,* because unimportant from their point of view.

It is necessary, however, before entering upon a narrative of events that took place in South Africa, to show how and when this country first became known to Europeans, and to make acquaintance with the people by whom the discovery was made. It was no ordinary enterprise that they undertook, and the European colonisation of this country, which was one of its consequences, was only a trifling event when compared with what they accomplished elsewhere. For the discovery of an ocean route between Europe and India, by which the products of the East could be brought without being disturbed from the time of their shipment at the place of their origin to that of their unloading where they were to be

* See *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, nine demi octavo volumes, each of over five hundred pages, published in London for the government of the Cape Colony from 1898 to 1903. They contain a large number of Portuguese records copied by me from the originals in various archive departments in Europe, extracts from old Portuguese histories, the whole of the African portion of the *Ethiopia Oriental* of Dos Santos, and a number of documents and extracts from ancient books in French, Dutch, and English, with a copious index of the whole. All of the Portuguese documents have English translations, mostly made and all carefully revised by myself, attached to them. These volumes can be seen and consulted in many of the great public libraries of Europe, as well as in all those in South Africa.

distributed for use, is one of the most important events in the history of the world.

It is not too much to say that every state of Central and Western Europe was affected by it. The time was critical, for the Turks—then a powerful and formidable people in the pride and confidence of their recent victorious career, in which they had overwhelmed the last remnant of the Eastern Roman empire—were then menacing the remainder of Christendom, and if they had secured a monopoly of the Indian trade their wealth and strength would have been so augmented that it is doubtful whether they might not have succeeded in entering Vienna in 1529, when they besieged that city and destroyed its suburbs, or rather it is highly probable they would have done so. Had they succeeded in obtaining possession of Vienna—then regarded as the bulwark of Western and Central Europe,—they would certainly have made it the base of operations against the Christian states farther in advance, between which union against a common foe would have been so difficult to form that those states might have been successively subdued. The king of France and the emperor Charles V were at variance. The reformation in religion, with Martin Luther as its leading champion, was then in full progress,* and it would have been almost as easy for either party in the strife that it caused to unite with the Turks as with the other.

As yet the Moslem power was divided, for Egypt was still under the independent Mameluke rulers, and the greater portion of the Indian products that found their way to Europe was obtained by the Venetians at Alexandria. From the earliest historic times the commerce of

* The ninety-five theses of Luther were posted on the church door at Wittenberg on the 1st of November 1517, and the pope's bull was publicly burned by the reformer on the 10th of December 1520. Dread of the Turks was felt throughout Germany at the time, but catholics and protestants were ready to spring at each other's throats.

India had been regarded as of greater importance than any other known to civilised men. The ancient Egyptians needed spices not only for flavouring food, but for embalming their dead, and the great city of Thebes to a large extent owed its grandeur and its wealth to its being the emporium of the eastern trade. Tyre, on the shore of the Mediterranean sea, thrived from the same commerce. To Tyre Alexandria succeeded, founded by the great Macedonian conqueror at the western mouth of the Nile, in the same land of Egypt that had once before been the principal market for the fabrics and spices of the distant countries towards the rising sun. Egypt had seen many changes since that time. It was the first great prize of the Mohamedans, and it had remained in their hands from that time onward, though not under the same government. With it they had control of the most valuable branch of the Indian trade, and of all the wealth that it produced.

To Alexandria the Indian products were conveyed in boats down the Nile from Cairo, after being carried by camels from Suez at the head of the gulf of the same name, whither they were brought by ships from the coast of Malabar or the islands still farther away. There was thus the cost of an article purchased from its original producer, plus the profit of the first collector, plus the charges for storage and shipping, plus the freight across the Indian ocean to Aden, plus the cost of transshipment to smaller vessels there, plus the freight up the Red sea and gulf of Suez, plus the cost of landing, plus the land carriage on camels, plus the government dues, plus the merchant's profit at Cairo, plus the charge for conveyance down the river in boats, plus the merchant's profit in Alexandria, to be reckoned up before it came into the hands of the Venetians. The cost of articles conveyed from a great distance in this manner was many times more than the original price, still from this traffic Alexandria had thriven greatly;

and from it too Venice, whose merchants distributed over Europe the silk and cotton fabrics, gems, pepper, and spices of the East, had become wealthy and powerful.

That portion of the Indian merchandise which was brought overland by caravans from the river Euphrates to the Mediterranean coast* was under the control of the Turks, and a few years later, when in 1517 the sultan Selim overthrew the Mamelukes and made Egypt a province of his dominions, the whole would have been theirs if the Portuguese had not just in time forestalled them. Thus the opening of an ocean road to India and the wresting from the Mohamedans of the commerce that produced enormous wealth and power were events of the utmost importance to every nation of Central and Western Europe, and it was one of the smallest states in Christendom that performed this great service to mankind. The Moslem power was outflanked by it, and attacked at its most vulnerable point.

In the early years of the fifteenth century the Christian nations had very little acquaintance with distant countries, America and Australia were entirely unknown, Eastern Asia was very imperfectly laid down on the maps, and the greater part of Africa had never been explored. Even the knowledge of its coasts once possessed by the Greeks of Alexandria and the Phœnicians

* This was a very ancient trade route, but was of less importance than that by way of the Red sea. Goods were brought by ships to Ormuz, a town on an island at the entrance to the Persian gulf, there they were transhipped to smaller vessels and conveyed up the gulf to the mouth of the river Euphrates, then taken up the river in boats to a convenient place, and finally transported on the backs of camels to Tyre or Damascus or some port on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean sea. It was from the traffic by this route that the celebrated city of Palmyra or Tadmor in the wilderness derived its importance in ancient times. It was built on an oasis in the desert, and was the centre of the caravan trade until its destruction by the emperor Aurelian in A.D. 272.

of Carthage was entirely forgotten, and this continent might have terminated north of the equator, for anything that the most learned men in Europe knew to the contrary. They had nothing better than the map of Ptolemy and perhaps that of Edrisi as their guide, and these were not only extremely vague as regards its southern part, but, as is now known, were most incorrect. They made Africa either join a belt of land extending eastward to a great distance,—a vast southern continent it might be termed,—or they made it curve round like a horn and project to the south of China, in either case representing the Indian ocean as an enclosed sea like the Mediterranean.

The little kingdom of Portugal at the south-western extremity of Europe—very little greater in extent than Scotland alone—was more favourably situated than any other Christian state for prosecuting discovery along the western coast of Africa, though its shipping was small in quantity compared with that of either Venice, Genoa, the Hanseatic league, or the Netherland dominions of the dukes of Burgundy. A glance at its history may not be uninteresting, and will show how it came to embark in maritime exploration.*

In Portugal, as throughout Southern Europe, and as in South Africa, great numbers of ancient stone implements are found of such rude workmanship as to prove that the men who made and used them were savages of a very low type, and there is further evidence that they were cave dwellers. In South Africa the primitive race has continued to exist until our own times, but in Portugal it disappeared ages ago, no one can do more than conjecture how or when. Nor can any estimate be formed of the length of time that those savages

* Among the sources of information for the next few pages I must mention particularly Arnold's *History of Rome*, Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Busk's *History of Spain and Portugal*, and Stephens' *History of Portugal*.

were in occupation of the land, though it is certain from geological evidence that it must have been an enormous period when compared with that covered by written history.

Later, but still in the far distant past, the whole of the Iberian peninsula came to be inhabited by the race of men of whom the Basques are the present representatives, but whether they succeeded immediately to the palæolithic savages, or whether some other people came between them, is as yet unknown. No one has been able to ascertain where they came from, and all that can be said with certainty concerning them is that they formed one of those swarms which were thrown off from the parent hive in some unknown locality and that they peopled Northern Africa and Southern Europe from the eastern extremity of those continents to the Atlantic shore. As the Basques in Europe correspond to the early Egyptians and the light coloured men of the Barbary states, in speaking of them we are speaking of a race that led the van of civilisation at a very remote period in the history of the world. In modern times too they have shown their capability of taking a high place in defence of freedom and in the promotion of industry.*

Next to appear in the Iberian peninsula were the Celts, another race wave from some unknown locality, by whom the earlier inhabitants of the south and centre were partly destroyed and probably partly incorporated. In all invasions of this kind of which the particulars are known, young females and also a certain proportion of males to be used as slaves have been spared, and in course of time a mixture of blood has taken place, so that the conquerors have become to some extent different from the stock from which they

* No race seems to be endowed with greater energy. Both the founder of the Company of Jesus, Ignatius Loyola, and the most celebrated missionary of that order, Francisco Xavier, were Basques.

originally sprang. It must have been so when the Celtic wave poured into the Iberian peninsula, and the resulting Spaniard was therefore different from the Celts who did not cross the Pyrenees. The Basques living in the north, particularly in the western part of the Pyrenees and along the adjoining coast of the bay of Biscay, however, managed to hold their own, and their descendants are found in those localities at the present day.

The Phœnicians, and after them the Carthaginians, who were of the same race, followed, and occupied many stations in the southern section of the peninsula, but never succeeded in establishing their authority in the northern part of the country. They were mostly traders and miners, and there can be little doubt that their presence had the effect of stimulating progress towards a higher plane of life than that occupied by the inhabitants before their arrival, for commerce is one of the leading factors of civilisation. The Greeks also are believed by some historians to have formed trading stations at the mouths of the rivers on the western coast as well as on the Mediterranean shore, and it has even been supposed that Lisbon was founded by a Hellenic colony, though that seems to be extremely doubtful.

In the Punic wars the Romans obtained assistance in Spain, by which name the entire peninsula is meant, and in the year B.C. 206 the Carthaginians were finally expelled from the country. But now the Romans turned their arms against the Spaniards, and after a long struggle succeeded in establishing their authority over the Celtic part of the country, though insurrections were frequent, and it was only in the time of Augustus that the Basque section was subdued and the whole peninsula was reduced to perfect obedience.

During the next four centuries Spain became thoroughly Romanised, to such an extent indeed that not only the

arts, customs, laws, and municipal institutions, but even the language of Rome came into general use, and that language is the basis of the tongue of the Celtic portion of the people at the present day. The Christian religion also, which had become that of the ruling power, was firmly adopted. No conquerors ever left their impression upon a whole people more thoroughly than the Romans left theirs upon the inhabitants of the greater portion of the Spanish peninsula.

So matters went on until the early years of the fifth century of our era, when the Western empire was overrun by hordes of warlike intruders pressing down from the north, and the Alani, the Vandals, and the Suevi made their way over the Pyrenees, and took possession of Spain. They met with resistance of course, but the days when the Roman legions were invincible were past, and when the disciplined troops were discomfited or withdrawn to defend Italy itself, the great body of the people, being unaccustomed to the use of arms, was unable to withstand the fierce attacks of the Teutonic hordes, in which every adult male was by profession a warrior. Spain shared the same fate as Britain where the people, enervated by the protection of trained soldiers for many generations, were almost helpless when left to defend themselves. The first invaders were followed by the Visigoths when the Vandals and most of the Alani went on to Africa, the Suevi remaining in Galicia and Old Castile, and the Gothic monarchy of Spain was established. These Goths held the Romanised Celts in subjection, and lived among them as an aristocracy, but soon adopted their language, when the two peoples blended into one.

Three centuries passed away, and then another race of conquerors appeared. The Arabs, under the influence of the religion of Mohamed, had overrun Egypt and the whole northern coast of Africa to the Atlantic ocean, converting everywhere the people to their faith. In the

second decade of the eighth century one of their armies passed from Africa by way of Gibraltar into Spain, and speedily overran the whole peninsula except the Basque territory in the north. There the features of the country favoured the ancient inhabitants, who held their own against all attacks, and managed to preserve one little Christian kingdom intact while everywhere else the crescent had triumphed over the cross. For a long series of years the Mohamedans were not harsh conquerors, and by their love of learning, their splendid schools, and the beauty of their architecture unquestionably did much to improve the subject people. The Christians were not compelled to renounce their religion, and their persons and property were protected by the law. For a time the country was subject to the caliph of Damascus, and later to an independent caliph of Cordova, but at length, in the first years of the eleventh century, the Mohamedan government broke into fragments, and an era of misrule and fanaticism on both sides commenced. The Gothic nobles from the first had chafed under foreign supremacy, and within fifty years of the conquest the little Christian state of the north had begun to expand. Now a struggle between the Christians and the Mohamedans set in, a struggle which lasted for centuries and which drenched the land with blood, which spread desolation far and wide, but created a people inspired with boundless energy and prepared to undertake the most formidable enterprises.

The Mohamedans were aided by fanatics from Africa, mostly of Berber blood, and large numbers of crusaders, among whom were many Netherlanders and Englishmen, came to the assistance of the Christians. Some of these crusaders remained in the country, and married there, thus introducing a new element into the already mixed blood of the people. When a German, French, or English nobleman thus cast in his lot with that of the Spaniards, his retainers usually remained with him, for the structure

of the various governments that were formed was entirely in accordance with the feudal system. A tract of land in the territory recovered from the Mohamedans would be assigned to him, and on it he placed his followers, who mixed with the earlier inhabitants, and all acknowledged him as their lord. The Mohamedans were either expelled altogether or treated with much harshness. The lord of the estate ruled the people on it, but was himself subject to the king of the territory in which it was situated, and had a seat in the cortes or supreme council that regulated the affairs of the kingdom.

A number of little Christian states modelled in this manner, sometimes united under one head, at other times independent of each other, came into existence in the northern part of the peninsula, and in A.D. 1095 a small section of the present territory of Portugal, that had been recovered from the Mohamedans by Alfonso, king of Leon and Castile, was formed into a county for the benefit of a Burgundian noble named Henrique, who married Theresa, a natural daughter of the king. The county was called Portugal, from o Porto, the Port, at the mouth of the river Douro. With this event the history of Portugal, as distinct from the other sections of the Spanish peninsula, commences. The county certainly remained a fief of Leon until the 25th of July 1139, on which day the memorable battle of Ourique was fought. Affonso, who had succeeded his father Henrique as count of Portugal, crossed the Tagus, marched far into the Moslem domains, and defeated with great slaughter five emirs who had united their forces against him. The old Portuguese historians assert that after the victory Affonso was proclaimed king by his army, and that a cortes which assembled at Lamego confirmed the title, but recent criticism throws doubt upon these statements as being merely legendary. The latest writers assert that it was in war with his suzerain that

Affonso acquired his independence, and that the cortes did not meet at Lamego until 1211. Neither dates nor the particulars of events can be implicitly relied on in the history of Portugal before the discovery of the ocean route to India, unless they can be verified by reference to documents abroad, particularly at Rome. It is regarded as certain, however, that the son of Henrique styled himself king in 1140, and that in 1143 Pope Innocent the second confirmed the title.

After this the waves of war rolled backward and forward over the land, but in 1147 Affonso got possession of the important city of Santarem, which was never again lost. In the same year also, with the aid of a strong body of English and Flemish crusaders he seized Lisbon, though Coimbra remained the national capital until the reign of João I. During the remainder of his life and that of his son Sancho, who succeeded him, the Tagus was the southern boundary of Portugal, and the province of Alemtejo was a debatable land, sometimes overrun by one party, sometimes by the other. In 1211 Sancho died, and was succeeded by his son Affonso II, and he again in 1223 by his son Sancho II, during whose reigns a steady though slow and frequently interrupted advance was made in the conquest of Alemtejo. Sancho II was embroiled in disputes with Rome, and when he contracted a very unpopular marriage his subjects ceased to support him. The pope then issued a bull deposing him and bestowing the crown upon his brother, who drove him into exile, and as Affonso III reigned in his stead. Sancho died in exile in 1248. In 1250 the emirate of the Algarves was overrun, and was held as a fief of Castile until 1263, when it was ceded to Portugal in full sovereignty. The country then for the first time, after a struggle of one hundred and sixty-eight years from the formation of the northern county, acquired its present dimensions, which it has retained inviolate ever since. The title king of Portugal and of the Algarves,

assumed by Affonso III, was subsequently borne by all the monarchs of the country.

Small as is the extent of the territory thus brought under one government, it contains a great variety of soil, much of which is unfit for agriculture. The climate too is varied, the mountainous tracts in the north having a cool temperature, such as is most agreeable to men of Caucasian stock, while in the Algarves the heat is often too great to be pleasant. The long coastline with excellent harbours was of much importance in determining the occupations of the people. In no other country of Europe except Holland were there so many fishermen, and nowhere else did fish form so large a portion of the food of the peasantry. Thus a hardy body of men accustomed to working small craft was already in existence in the thirteenth century, and it was owing to this circumstance that at a later date exploratory expeditions could be fitted out with little difficulty.

During the next century the country made progress in population, but nothing occurred that demands remark in so brief a sketch as this. There was jarring and quarrelling among the nobles, just as in all other states of Europe, but there was no great convulsion or revolution that threatened the stability of the throne. The people, isolated from the other states of the peninsula, were gradually acquiring a different character and even a different dialect from the inhabitants of Leon, Castile, and Aragon.

In 1279 Affonso III was succeeded by his son Diniz, who died in 1325, and was followed on the throne by his son Affonso IV. He was succeeded in 1357 by his son Pedro, who was followed in 1367 by his son Fernando, the last monarch of the Burgundian dynasty, who died on the 22nd of October 1383. Under the government of these kings the Portuguese had become a fairly wealthy and prosperous commercial people, without losing any of the martial spirit or fierce energy that they had

acquired during their long wars with the Mohamedans. Fernando died without male heirs, and his daughter, being married to the king of Castile, was by a fundamental law excluded from the crown. His widow, the infamous Dona Leonor, asserted a claim to act as regent for her daughter, but owing to her profligate habits and her remorseless cruelty she was detested by the people, who were extremely averse to union or even association with Castile, and she was expelled.

The leader of the popular party was Dom João, grand master of the order of Saint Benedict of Avis, a man of remarkable ability, who was an illegitimate son of King Pedro by Theresa Lourenço. The Castilian monarch invaded Portugal with a great army and laid siege to Lisbon, but pestilence broke out in his camp, and he was driven back with heavy loss. On the 6th of April 1385 the cortes, which had assembled at Coimbra, the ancient capital, elected the grand master of the order of Avis king of Portugal. On the 14th of August of the same year the Portuguese army utterly defeated the Castilians in the battle of Aljubarrota, one of the most famous victories recorded in the annals of the land. Still the sovereign of Castile might have succeeded in conquering the country if John of Gaunt, son of Edward III of England, had not come to its aid with five thousand men. The marriage of King João with Philippa, eldest daughter of John of Gaunt, cemented his alliance with England, with which country he had concluded a treaty of close friendship. Lisbon, in a beautiful situation on the northern bank of the Tagus, with one of the best harbours in Europe, was made by João I the capital of the country, which it has ever since continued to be. Thus the illustrious dynasty of Avis, under whose leadership the little kingdom held such a proud position in Europe, came to occupy the throne of Portugal.

During the long reign of João I the kingdom continued to prosper. The policy pursued was to maintain

a firm alliance with England, to carry on commerce with that country, and to avoid connection of any kind with the other states of the peninsula. Learning was encouraged by the king, and Portuguese literature may be said to date from this period. If the martial ardour of the people was relaxing by long peace, it was revived in 1415 by the prosecution of war with the Moors on the North African coast, when the strong position of Ceuta, opposite Gibraltar, was taken. This fortress was the first foreign possession of Portugal, and was afterwards held at considerable cost, though its only utility was that it provided a foothold upon the African coast, which was really of more harm than benefit. In the bitter strife of the period between the Christians and Mohamedans, however, this conquest was regarded as a great gain, as it might be made the stepping stone to the possession of the shore beyond it. Looking back upon the history of those times, it seems providential that the Portuguese did not succeed in their designs on Northern Africa, for if they had, their whole strength and means would have been expended in holding fortresses in an enemy's country, without any return whatever.

João I died in 1433, and was succeeded by his eldest legitimate son, Duarte by name. Affonso, an illegitimate son by Ines Pires, who was created count of Barcellos by his father, and duke of Bragança by his nephew Affonso V, was the ancestor of the sovereigns of Portugal from 1640 to 1910.

Duarte was an excellent king, but his short reign was marked by a great disaster. In 1437 an attack upon Tangier failed, and the fourth legitimate son of João I, the infante Dom Fernando, became a prisoner. As he could only obtain his liberty by the restoration of Ceuta to the Moors, he himself was magnanimous enough to send advice to his countrymen not to accede to the enemy's demands, and he remained a captive at Fez until his death in 1443.

King Duarte died in 1438, when his son and heir, Affonso V, was only six years of age. Dom Pedro, duke of Coimbra, second son of João I and Philippa of Lancaster, then became regent, but ten years later the young king took the government into his own hands. He was a scholar and a patron of literature, but was somewhat reckless and unstable in character. He carried on war with the Moors of Northern Africa, and succeeded in taking several towns from them, after which he turned his arms against Castile, in hope of obtaining possession of that kingdom, but was utterly defeated in 1476 in the battle of Toro, and in 1481 died, leaving the throne of Portugal to his son João II.

The new king was twenty-six years of age when he succeeded his father. Though inclined to be a despot, he was one of the wisest and ablest princes that ever sat upon the throne of Portugal. Upon his accession he resolved to reduce the power of the nobles, who under the feudal system of government were really masters of the country, and he therefore instituted an inquiry into the nature of their tenures, which provoked their resentment and resistance. This gave him an opportunity to destroy them, of which he took full advantage, and if the means which he adopted seem tyrannical and cruel, it must be remembered that there was no other way by which the feudal system in Portugal could be done away with. That system was becoming obsolete in other parts of Europe, for it was everywhere apparent that the mass of the people were oppressed by a multitude of petty tyrants, while the central government was too weak to command respect abroad or preserve order at home. The nobles claimed that the first duty of their retainers was loyalty to them, even in opposition to the royal authority. They had their own courts, so that there was no uniformity in the administration of the laws. There were two classes of them, temporal and ecclesiastical peers, and the latter were the most difficult to deal with.

The most powerful among them at this time was the third duke of Bragança, who was lord of many towns, and owned more than one-fourth of the whole territory of the kingdom. He was arrested, and after a trial for treasonable correspondence with a foreign state, was executed. This was followed by the death of the duke of Viseu, who was stabbed by the king's own hand, of the bishop of Evora, who was thrown down a well, and by the execution of about eighty of the most powerful noblemen in the country. Their estates were confiscated, though in some instances partially restored to their heirs, the vast authority they had possessed was broken for ever, and João II became an absolute monarch, though a benevolent and excellent one. He was a patron of learned men, a promoter of commerce, a just administrator, and in every way open to him he endeavoured to improve the condition of the people. He died at Alvor in the Algarves on the 25th of October 1495, to the grief of his subjects, who termed him the perfect king.

It was during the reigns of the sovereigns of the dynasty of Avis that the Portuguese led the way in those geographical discoveries which have conferred such lustre upon the little kingdom. When João I ascended the throne Europeans knew far less of the western coast of Africa than was known by the Carthaginians five centuries before the Christian era, and of the extent and position of the southern and eastern coasts they were absolutely ignorant. The Arabs, Persians, and Indians were far more enlightened in this respect than were the people of Europe. Whether there were other writings in ancient times upon the shores of the Indian ocean than the *Voyage of Nearchus* and the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* is very doubtful, though it is possible that there may have been, and that they were lost when the great library of the Greek kings of Egypt was destroyed in Cæsar's Alexandrian war. That no such treatises existed

in the new Alexandrian library* is almost certain, as the geographer Ptolemy had access to that collection of books, and of South-Eastern Africa he knew nothing at all. There is the most conclusive evidence that in very ancient times some nations frequented the eastern shore of the continent at least as far down as Cape Correntes,† but no accounts of their discoveries were extant in the fifteenth century, nor are there any to-day.

The writings of even the Arabs and Persians after the time of Mohamed appear to have been unknown in Western Europe when the Portuguese commenced their explorations, so that to them, if the imperfect information contained in the geography of Ptolemy be excepted, all

* The old library of the Ptolemies was consumed in Cæsar's Alexandrian war. Maro Antony gave the whole collection of Pergamus (200,000 volumes) to Cleopatra, as the foundation of the new library of Alexandria. It was kept in apartments of the great temple of Serapis, which was broken down in A.D. 389 by Theophilus, archbishop of Alexandria, "the perpetual enemy of peace and virtue, a bold, bad man, whose hands were alternately polluted with gold and with blood." The valuable library was pillaged or destroyed. See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chapter xxviii.

† The Arabs, Persians, and Indians were found at the beginning of the sixteenth century of our era to be well acquainted with the eastern coast as far south as Cape Correntes, and the Arabs and Persians had settlements along the whole of that seaboard. But of this Europeans knew absolutely nothing. There were legends in Kilwa of ships having been driven far beyond Cape Correntes in gales, and having been carried by the current onward to a great ocean in the west, from which they had only with the greatest difficulty returned. The perils the crews had gone through and the hardships they had suffered were magnified as a matter of course, and the dreadful sights that had met their eyes were such as to make the boldest shudder. Of the shore of that awful sea nothing was known, for no one had ever set foot upon it. Had there been a Bantu settlement south of Inhambane there can be no doubt that the eagerness of the Mohamedan traders to procure ivory would have led them on, but black men had replaced the wild aborigines there so shortly before the arrival of the Portuguese that there was not time to make the venture.

that was beyond Cape Nun from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean was a vast blank which it might be hazardous in the extreme to attempt to examine.

The ships of the fifteenth century were ill-fitted also for long voyages. Their bows were bluff and were so shaped as to pass over the water rather than to cut through it, so that except when running straight before the wind they seldom made more than six knots an hour. Though capable of withstanding heavy seas, they were clumsily rigged, and were without the mechanical appliances of the present day. In proportion to their tonnage they required so many men to work them that a great deal of space was taken up with food and fresh water, and of comfort on board—especially in stormy weather—there was none. When it was fine and warm a large proportion of the crew could sleep on deck, but when it was necessary to go below for shelter they were packed almost as closely as negroes in a slave ship three centuries later.

At the same time it must be observed that there was then much less distinction between the officers and men in a Portuguese ship not fitted out for war than there is at the present day, so that the feeling of envy was not called into action to any great extent. Equality in condition, even when that condition is a low one, tends to promote contentment. A sailing master or a pilot in those days was only an expert seaman, an observant man who knew at sight all the headlands and other features of the coast along which he passed, who needed no more education from books than any of the crew. He was simply the first among equals, and on an emergency all were consulted.

The crews were not engaged then in the same manner as now. Their wages were little more than nominal, but they participated at a fixed rate in the profits of the venture whatever it might be. Thus supposing it was agreed that the proceeds of a voyage were to be divided into three shares, one went to the owners of the ship, one to the owner of the cargo, and one to the crew.

Such an arrangement would of course depend upon the value of the cargo, so that this proportion was not fixed, but is merely given here as an illustration. The crew's portion was then divided into shares: two for the sailing master, one for every able seaman, and half a share for every boy or unskilled man. The sailors were at liberty to trade on their own account, and usually every man among them had some little venture of his own. It is obvious that under a system like this men would be willing to undergo greater discomfort than if they were engaged at a fixed rate of wages, with no other prospect of gain. There were customs observed by seafaring men which had all the force of laws, which regulated their conduct towards each other, and preserved the strictest order among them. Some of the punishments inflicted under this system upon persistent offenders were excessively severe.

In the short voyages made before the fifteenth century sickness was not more prevalent than on land, and scurvy was not dreaded at all. At a later date this fell disease often created havoc with ships' crews, but it was seldom the cause of such loss of life among Portuguese seamen as among those of England and Holland. The difference in diet must have been the reason, as there is no other way of accounting for it. The Portuguese used no spirits before he acquired a taste for arrack in India, but he drank a considerable quantity of weak wine daily, which was regarded as a necessity of life almost equally with solid food. Of vegetables—particularly onions and leeks—he ate freely on board his ship as long as they could be kept good, but salted meat he seldom tasted. Dried fish took its place largely in Portuguese vessels, and fresh fish were eaten whenever they could be caught. Cheese was regarded as a necessity, and any kind of fruit as long as it would hold out. Abundance of biscuits, dried beans, and peas made up the variety of his fare, so that upon the whole he had as healthy a diet as could

be obtained anywhere by men of his class before the means of preserving fresh food in tins was discovered.

Vessels could therefore make the passage from Lisbon or Oporto to London or Bristol with fruit and wine without difficulty, but it was a very different thing to sail along an unknown coast, with no harbour in front where fresh provisions and water could be obtained. The compass, which is believed to have been in use in an imperfect form in China as far back as two thousand six hundred years before Christ, had recently become known in Western Europe, and about the beginning of the fourteenth century had been so much improved by Flavio Gioja, of Amalphi, that navigation had benefited greatly by it. But the compass, though enabling ships to steer safely between frequented ports, was not of much assistance in the exploration of seas never visited before, though it might be on the return passage.

When long voyages began to be made away from land, an instrument for determining latitudes approximately came into use, but it was exceedingly crude and imperfect, and for ascertaining longitudes no means whatever were known, so that it was only by computing the direction and the distance run that a navigator could form an opinion as to where he was. A man of greater education than one of the old pilots or sailing masters was needed for this purpose, and thereafter a greater distinction arose between the officers and seamen of a ship than had previously existed. Still the Portuguese sailors retained a higher status and were treated with more consideration than those of any other European nation down to our own times. When commerce was carried on as a royal monopoly a man of noble birth, or one who had filled some position of distinction on land, was commonly placed in supreme command of a ship of large size, and in that case there was a very wide distinction indeed, but such a man had nothing to do with the working of the vessel, and was almost as far above the navigating officers as he was above the seamen.

The system of maritime enterprise here described was not favourable for prosecuting exploration. Neither the fishermen nor the sailors who served in trading ships had any inclination for pushing out into unknown waters, where there was no prospect of gain and a certainty of much hardship. They were all, or very nearly all, married men, with families dependent upon them, and they were not in a position to devote time to mere adventure. It may be taken for certain therefore that in the purely exploring voyages, an account of which will follow, some other means of obtaining men than that commonly adopted was resorted to, though exactly what those means were cannot now be ascertained, as the Portuguese historians of those times made no mention of them. Most probably high wages were offered, although this must not be taken for certain, because as soon as the slave trade was commenced the ships' crews are found reverting to the system of a share of the profits. There is an element in the character of the Portuguese, as indeed of all the southern peoples, a fondness for games of chance, which tended to produce a preference for speculation rather than steady receipts.

A still greater obstacle to exploration was the fear of danger of an imaginary kind that would be encountered at a distance from home. The seamen believed that the sun's heat in the south was so great that it caused the water to boil and thick vapour to obscure the sky, which was always as dark as night. There was a legend that the crew of a ship that had made the venture had actually seen the region of eternal gloom, and had got away from it only by a miracle. In the minds of common mariners the ocean beyond Cape Nun was as wild and dreadful as that beyond Cape Correntes was to the Arabs of the eastern shore. Thus it was a task not only of discomfort, but of peril and dread, to proceed beyond the known part of the coast.

CHAPTER II.

EXPLORATION BY THE PORTUGUESE OF THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA AND DISCOVERY OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

THE discoveries of the Portuguese were largely the result of the genius and ability of a prince of their royal house, Henrique by name, known in European history as Henry the Navigator. He was the third son of João I and Philippa of Lancaster, and was therefore a nephew of Henry IV of England. Two objects engrossed the attention of the infante Dom Henrique: the conversion of the heathen to Christianity, and the discovery of unknown lands, the last of which he believed would greatly facilitate the former. As a gallant knight he took part in the expedition against Ceuta in 1415, and there he learned that trade was carried on with the country south of the Sahara by means of caravans of camels, and that the coast of the Atlantic in that direction was often visited. Then he thought that the same coast could more easily be reached by sea, and he resolved to attempt to do it. In 1418 he took up his residence at Sagres, close to Cape Saint Vincent, in the Algarves, the south-western point of Portugal and the very best position in Europe as a basis for exploration. He was then twenty-four years of age. At Sagres he built an observatory, established a school of navigation, and invited the most expert astronomers, mathematicians, and sea-captains that he could hear of to visit him, that he might consult with them as to the best means of prosecuting discovery. He was possessed of much wealth, as he had been created duke of

Viseu, to which title large estates were attached, and he was also master of the order of Christ and governor of the Algarves. His own revenues he spent entirely in the promotion of his designs, and he was most liberally aided with means by his father and his brothers.*

The first exploring expedition sent out is said to have been under the command of Bartholomeu Perestrello, who discovered the island of Porto Santo in 1418 or 1419, but the early accounts of this voyage do not agree with each other, and nothing connected with it is certain.

In 1419 Perestrello was sent out again, and with him were two other ships commanded by João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vas, who had instructions from Dom Henrique to establish a station on Porto Santo and plant a garden for the use of future navigators. Perestrello returned to Portugal from the island, but the other captains planted a plot of ground, and in 1420 went on to Madeira, which received its name from them on account of the trees with which it was covered. They then returned to Porto Santo, and thence to Portugal. Unfortunately they had put ashore a rabbit with young, and its progeny increased so rapidly that the continued cultivation of the ground became impossible, so that Porto Santo was not permanently colonised until several years later. The accounts of this voyage are also vague and unreliable. In 1425 a commencement was made in colonising Madeira, and among other useful plants the vine and the sugar-cane were introduced.†

* For information on the discoveries mentioned here I am indebted chiefly to the *Indice Chronologico das Navegações, Viagens, Descobrimentos, e Conquistas dos Portuguezes nos Paizes Ultramarinos desde o Principio do Seculo XV*, the great history *Da Asia* of João de Barros, Major's *Discoveries of Prince Henry the Navigator and their Results*, and Beazley's *Prince Henry the Navigator, the Hero of Portugal and of Modern Discovery*.

† These islands and even the Canaries had been visited by Genoese ships before they were rediscovered by the Portuguese. But as no use was made of them by the first visitors, and as

In 1432 Gonçalo Velho Cabral, commander of the order of Christ, discovered and named the island Santa Maria in the Azores. He is said by some writers long after his death to have been the first to double Cape Bojador, and thus to have really opened the gate of the ocean highway to India, but that must be regarded as at least extremely doubtful, if not purely imaginative. The various early accounts of the exploring voyages are confused and conflicting both as to names and dates, because they were compiled at a later period from oral testimony and tradition. What is absolutely certain regarding Gonçalo Velho, and for which he has always had credit given to him by historians, is that in 1432 (or possibly 1431) he discovered the island Santa Maria in the Azores. That this opened the road to America, as has been stated by some of his panegyrists, is to a certain extent true, but his name as an explorer cannot be placed in the same category as those of Columbus or Da Gama.

It was most probably in 1434 that an expedition under Gil Eannes doubled Cape Bojador, though some of the ancient writers assign the date 1428 for this achievement, others 1432, and others again 1433. This was a great step in advance, for on finding the sea south of the dreaded headland to be as easily navigated as that on the north, the old terror of the common people was dispelled, and it was from this time forward less difficult to obtain men to work the ships. It is not easy therefore to account for the various dates assigned for this achievement, but exact chronology does not seem to have been regarded as of much importance when the chronicles were prepared from oral testimony years after the events took place.

knowledge concerning them was not communicated to the world in general, the Portuguese have a fair claim to be regarded as the real discoverers. In the same way Columbus is rightly credited with the discovery of America, though the Northmen visited its north-eastern coast long before his time.

In 1435 the same captain Gil Eannes reached the mouth of the river do Ouro, to which he gave this name because he obtained some gold there in trade with the inhabitants. It was at this place that a commercial station was founded by the Carthaginians in the memorable expedition under Hanno, of which an account has been given in another volume. As the mouth of the river of Gold is on the tropic of Cancer, the first expedition that passed it would enter the torrid zone.

In 1441 Nuno Tristão reached Cape Blanco. In 1443 he visited the bay of Arguin, where he obtained in trade a number of negro slaves. Upon his return to Portugal these were sold readily as labourers, and thus was commenced a traffic which was a sore hindrance for a time to further discovery. Shipowners and sailors alike were eager to embark in ventures that brought in large profits, and which could be carried on in the way they were accustomed to, with sufficient adventure in them to make them attractive.

Still exploration did not at once cease, for in 1444 or 1445 Cape Verde was discovered and named by Diniz Dias. Here the coast turns to the south-east, and at this stage fourteen hundred English miles or two thousand two hundred and forty kilometres of the shore south of Cape Nun had been explored, no small result for a quarter of a century's effort with the appliances of those days.

From this time onwards many small vessels left Portugal every year to trade on the African coast for gold dust, ivory, and particularly for slaves. In search of markets where these could be obtained at the cheapest rates, the adventurers pushed always farther on, until shortly all the features of the shore became thoroughly well known, and were marked on charts as far south as the Rio Grande (11 degrees north latitude), but during the remainder of the lifetime of the infante Dom Henrique exploration with any other object in view practically ceased. He died on the 13th of November 1460. During these years the

lucrative slave trade occupied the minds of seafaring men more than anything else, and ships freighted with negroes frequently entered the harbours of Portugal. The commerce in human flesh was regarded as highly meritorious, because it brought heathens to a knowledge of Christianity. But never has a mistake or a crime led to more disastrous results, for to the introduction of negroes as labourers on the estates belonging to the nobles and religious orders in Alemtejo and the Algarves the decline of the kingdom in power and importance may largely be attributed. The effects were not visible for many years, but no one can come in contact with the lower classes in Southern Portugal to-day without being impressed with the fact that both the Europeans and the Africans have been ruined by mixture of their blood.

The exploring expeditions which Dom Henrique had never ceased to encourage, but which had given place to commerce in slaves, were resumed after his death. In 1461 Pedro de Cintra, who was sent out by Affonso V, reached the coast of the present republic of Liberia, and in 1471 Fernando Po crossed the equator.

King João II was as resolute as his grand-uncle the Navigator in prosecuting exploration, and hopes were entertained by him that an ocean road to India might be discovered. He had not indeed any idea of the great consequences that would follow, his object being simply to divert the eastern trade from Venice to Lisbon, which would be effected if an unbroken sea route could be found. In 1484 he sent out a ship under Diogo Cam, which reached the mouth of the Congo, and in the following year the same officer made a greater advance than any previous explorer could boast of, for he pushed on southward as far as Cape Cross, latitude 22 degrees, on the coast of what is now termed Damaraland, where the marble pillar which he set up to mark the extent of his voyage remained standing more than four hundred years.

The next expedition sent in the same direction solved the secret concerning the meridional extent of the African continent. It was under the chief command of an officer named Bartholomeu Dias, of whose previous career unfortunately nothing can now be ascertained except that he was a gentleman of the king's household and receiver of customs at Lisbon when the appointment was conferred upon him, and that he had at some former time taken part in exploring the coast. The historian João de Barros states that at the end of August 1486 *

* It would be interesting to know the exact day on which Dias sailed, but I have not found it possible to ascertain it. As already observed, before the entrance of Vasco da Gama into the Indian sea the dates of the various discoveries given by Portuguese historians are not implicitly to be relied upon, and as no original journals or logbooks of the early voyages are now in existence, there are no means of verifying them. João de Barros is the only historian known to me who has placed on record the month and year of sailing and of the return of Dias in this voyage, and he does not state the day of departure from the Tagus. His words are: (El Rei Dom João) "determinou de enviar logo neste anno de quatrocentos e oitenta e seis dobrados navios per mar, e homens per terra, pera ver o fim destas cousas." . . . "partiram no fim de Agosto do dito anno." . . . "onde chegaram em Dezembro do anno de quatrocentos e oitenta e sete, havendo dezeseis mezes, e dezeseite dias que eram partidos delle." Barros is the most reliable of all the Portuguese historians of that time, and he was in a position to obtain the particulars of this voyage, which unfortunately he gives so scantily. Neither Damião de Goes in his *Chronica do Felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel da Gloriosa Memoria* nor Fernão Lopes de Castanheda in his *Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portuguezes* mentions the date of the voyage, but both relate other particulars which tend to confirm the opinion that it took place at the time stated by Barros. For instance, Castanheda relates that Affonso de Paiva and João Pires de Covilhão commenced their journey from Portugal after the departure of Dias, and he agrees with Barros in giving the 7th of May 1487 as the date on which they left Santarem. The exact dates of Dias passing the Cape of Good Hope eastward, of his reaching the mouth of the Infante river, and of the erection of the landmark São Philippe cannot be ascertained, but these events in all probability occurred in 1487, as making allowance for his detentions when leaving the storeship, at

he sailed from the Tagus with two vessels of about fifty tons each, according to the Portuguese measurement of the time, though they would probably be rated much higher now. He had also a small storeship with him, for previous expeditions had often been obliged to turn back from want of food.

The officers who were to serve under him were carefully selected, and were skilful in their professions. They were: Leitão (probably a nickname) sailing master, and Pedro d'Alanquer pilot of the flag ship; João Infante captain, João Grego sailing master, and Alvaro Martins pilot of the *São Pantaleão*; and Pedro Dias, brother of the commodore, captain, João Alves sailing master, and João de Santiago pilot of the storeship. On board the squadron were four negresses—convicts—from the coast of Guinea, who were to be set ashore at different places to make discoveries and report to the next white men they should see. This was a common practice at the time, the persons selected being criminals under sentence of death, who were glad to escape immediate execution by risking anything that could befall them in an unknown and barbarous country. In this instance women were chosen, as it was considered likely they would be protected by the natives. It was hoped that through their means a powerful prince called Prester John,* who was believed to reside in the interior, might come to learn of the greatness of the Portuguese monarchy and that efforts were being made to reach him, so that he might send messengers to the coast to communicate with the

Angra dos Ilheos, and afterwards, Dias can hardly have reached the latitude of the Cape before the beginning of that year. See the remarks at the end of this chapter.

* See the numerous statements concerning this mythical monarch made by the early Portuguese writers, copied by me and printed, together with English translations, in volumes i, iii, v, vi, and vii of the *Records of South-Eastern Africa*. Ultimately the name was applied to the ruler of Abyssinia. Index, Prester John, in volume ix, page 474.

explorers. King João and his courtiers believed that if this mythical Prester John could be found, he would point out the way to India.

Dias, like all preceding explorers, kept close to the coast on his way southward. Somewhere near the equator he left the storeship with nine men to look after her, and then continued his course until he reached an inlet or small harbour with a group of islets at its entrance, the one now called Angra Pequena or Little Bay by the English, Luderitzbucht by the Germans, who took possession of it in 1884, but which he named Angra dos Ilheos, the bay of the Islets. The latitude was believed to be 24° south, but in reality it was $26\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, so imperfect were the means then known for determining it. There he cast anchor, and for the first time Christian men trod the soil of Africa south of the tropic.

A more desolate place than that on which the weary seamen landed could hardly be, and no mention is made by the early Portuguese historians of any sign of human life being observed as far as the explorers wandered. They could not have gone far from their ships, however, for in the dreary waste of sand that borders that part of the coast of Great Namaqualand there is nothing to sustain human life. To-day many individuals are there, searching for the diamonds that are to be found in that sand, but the men who sailed with Dias did not dream of such an allurements. Unfortunately the original journal or log-book of the expedition has long since disappeared, so that much that would be intensely interesting now can never be known. But this is certain that refreshment there could have been none, except fish, the flesh of sea-fowl that made their nests on the islets, and possibly eggs if the breeding season was not far advanced, though even that would be welcomed by men long accustomed only to ship's food. There was no fresh water, so it was no place in which to tarry long. Before he left, Dias set up a marble cross some two metres or so in height,

on an eminence that he named Serra Parda, the Grey Mountain, as a token that he had taken possession of the country for his king. For more than three hundred years that cross stood there above the dreary waste just as the brave Portuguese explorer erected it,* but about the

* "On the 21st of November (1825) a heavy south-east gale set in, before which we were carried with great velocity, and in the afternoon saw the remains of the cross erected by Bartholomeu Dias at the southern extremity of Angra Pequena. Passing by it we (H.M.S. *Barracouta*) anchored in the bay, where, although the wind was directly off shore, yet such was its violence that the whole surface of the water was one vast sheet of foam. Some officers landed with Captain Vidal, for the purpose of examining the cross, and obtaining the latitude and longitude of the point. They found the sand very painful to the eyes, being swept from the surface of the rocks, and almost blinding them as they proceeded to the summit of the small granite eminence on which Bartholomeu Dias erected his cross, as a memento of his discovery of the place. This is said to have been standing complete forty years back, but we found that it had been cast down, evidently by design, as the part of the shaft that had originally been buried in the rock remained unbroken, which never could have been the case had it been overturned in any other way than by lifting it from the foundation. The inducement to this disgraceful act was probably to search for such coins as might have been buried beneath the cross; and it is probable that the destroyers, in order to make some little amends for their desolation, re-erected a portion of the fragments, as we found a piece of the shaft, including the part originally placed in the ground, altogether about six feet in length, propped up by means of large stones, crossed at the top by a broken fragment, which had originally formed the whole length of the shaft. This was six feet above ground, and twenty-one inches beneath, composed of marble rounded on one side, but left square on the other, evidently for the inscription, which, however, the unsparing hand of Time, in a lapse of nearly three centuries and a half, had rendered illegible. In descending by a different and more craggy path, the party suddenly came upon the cross; this was sixteen inches square, of the same breadth and thickness as the shaft, and had on the centre an inscription, but, like the other, almost obliterated."—*Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H.M. Ships Leven and Barracouta under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N.* Two demi octavo volumes, published in London in 1833. The

beginning of the nineteenth century it was broken down by some unknown miscreants. The place where it stood so long is called by English geographers Pedestal Point. Here one of the negresses was left, almost certainly to perish, when the expedition moved onward.

From Angra dos Ilheos Dias tried to keep the land in sight, but as it was the season of the south-east winds, which were contrary, he could not make rapid progress. At length by repeatedly tacking he reached an inlet or bend in the coast to which he gave the name Angra das Voltas, the Bay of the Tacks or Turnings. There is a curve in the land in the position indicated, 29° south, but the latitudes given are not to be depended upon, and the expedition may have been far from it and farther still from the point at the mouth of the Orange river called by modern geographers Cape Voltas, in remembrance of that event. At Angra das Voltas, wherever it was, Dias remained five days, as the weather was unfavourable for sailing,* and before he left another of the negresses was set ashore.

extract given above is to be found in volume ii, pages 269 and 270. Two fragments of the pillar are now in the museum in Lisbon, and one is in the South African museum in Capetown. The officer of the *Barracouta* who wrote the above was in error in supposing that the cube he speaks of formed the cross: it was merely the base upon which the cross rested, as can be seen from the cast of the last one erected by Diogo Cam, now in the South African museum.

* The south-east monsoon ending when Dias left this place would indicate that the time was not earlier than the end of March or beginning of April, and that seven months at least had elapsed since his departure from Lisbon. That seems a long time for the passage even in those days, but as there were detentions during it of unknown duration, it may easily have been so lengthened. The north-west monsoon now set in, and Dias, though his vessels were probably hove to under shortened canvas, was driven southward for thirteen days before he turned to the east. That wind, and that wind only, would have enabled him to do what he did, so it may be taken for certain that he did not reach Mossel Bay before the beginning of May. He had then four months of

After making sail heavy weather was encountered and a boisterous sea, such as ships often experience in that part of the ocean, and which is caused by the cold Antarctic current becoming slightly deflected by some means from its usual course and striking the hot Mozambique current at a right angle off the Cape of Good Hope. Very miserable Dias and his companions must have been in their tiny vessels among the tremendous billows, with the sails close reefed, and hardly a hope of escape from being lost. But after thirteen days the weather moderated, and then they steered eastward, expecting soon to see the coast again. For several days they sailed in this direction, but as no land appeared Dias concluded that he must either have passed the extremity of the continent or be in some deep gulf like that of Guinea. The first surmise was correct, for on turning to the north he reached the shore at an inlet which he named Angra dos Vaqueiros, the Bay of the Herdsmen, on account of the numerous droves of cattle which he saw grazing on its shores. It was probably the same inlet that was named by the next expedition the Watering Place of São Bras, and which since 1601 has been known as Mossel Bay. The inhabitants gazed with astonishment upon the strange apparition coming over the sea, and then fled inland with their cattle, so that it was not found possible to have any intercourse with the wild people. Thus no information concerning the Hottentot

favourable weather before him, in which to refit his vessels and to proceed eastward to the Infante river, inspecting the coast by the way and allowing for detention at the island of Santa Cruz. At the end of that time the south-east monsoon set in again, and allowed him to return without difficulty and to reach Portugal within four months. Thus if the exact dates cannot be given, the periods of the year when he visited the places named on the South African coast are tolerably certain. The *no fim de Agosto* of Barros, comparing the time of Dias' absence with the time of his arrival in Lisbon again, cannot mean later than the 13th of that month.

inhabitants of the South African coast, except that they had domestic cattle in their possession, was obtained by this expedition.

How long Dias remained at Angra dos Vaqueiros is not known, but his vessels, good sea-boats as they had proved to be, must have needed some refitting, so he was probably there several days at least. He and his officers were in high spirits, as unless they were in another deep bay like the gulf of Guinea, they had solved the question of the extent southward of the African continent. As far as their eyes could reach, the shore stretched east and west, so, sailing again, they continued along it until they came to an uninhabited islet in latitude $33\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ south. This islet is in Algoa Bay as now termed*—the *Bahia da Lagoa* of the Portuguese after the middle of the sixteenth century—and still bears in the French form of *St. Croix* the name *Ilheo da Santa Cruz*, the islet of the

* Exactly when or how this indentation in the land took the name Algoa Bay I have not been able to ascertain. The word is evidently a corruption of the Portuguese name *Bahia da Lagoa*, but it is now in use by all geographers. Sparrman in 1785 had an Algoa Bay, but it is the one now called Plettenberg's. Barrow in 1797 wrote of the indentation in question as Algoa or Zwartkops, but usually employed the latter term. I notice that some serious writers have of late adopted the conjecture of a lady recorded by Colonel Sutherland in his work, that Algoa Bay was so called because the Portuguese fleets called there on their way to Goa, and Delagoa Bay because those fleets called there on their return from Goa. We may admire the lady's wit, but not her knowledge of historical facts. There is not a single instance on record of a Portuguese fleet having ever put into the bay now called Algoa, nor of that name ever having been used by the Portuguese, to whom the word would be foreign. Nor is there an instance of a return fleet having put into the bay called by us Delagoa, by the Portuguese *Bahia de Lourenço Marques*. The river Umbelosi was indeed called by them for a time *Rio da Lagoa*, because they believed it to flow from a great lake in the interior of the continent, but that name was soon changed into *Rio do Espírito Santo*, though the Dutch took over the first appellation of the river and the English transferred it to the sheet of water into which that river flows.

Holy Cross, which he gave it on account of the pillar bearing a cross and the arms of Portugal which he erected upon it.

Dias visited the mainland, where he observed two women gathering shellfish, who were left unmolested, as the king had issued instructions that no cause of offence should be given to the inhabitants of any countries discovered. Here the last of the negresses was set ashore, as one had died on the passage. The coast was examined some distance to the eastward, and to a prominent rock upon it the name Penedo das Fontes, the Rock of the Fountains, was given by some of the people, because two springs of water were found there.

Here the seamen protested against going farther. They complained that their supply of food was running short, and the storeship was far behind, so that there was danger of perishing from hunger. They thought they had surely done sufficient in one voyage (for they were sixteen hundred and twenty-five English miles or two thousand six hundred kilometres beyond the terminus of the preceding expedition), and no one had ever taken such tidings to Portugal as they would carry back. Further, from the trending of the coast it was evident there must be some great headland behind them, and therefore they were of opinion it would be better to turn about and look for it. One can hardly blame them for their protest, considering the fatigue and peril they had gone through and the wretchedly uncomfortable life they had been leading.

Dias, after hearing these statements, took the officers and some of the principal seamen on shore, where he administered an oath to them, after which he asked their opinion as to what was the best course to pursue for the service of the king. They replied with one voice to return home, whereupon he caused them to sign a document to that effect. He then begged them to continue only two or three days' sail farther, and promised

them if they should find nothing within that time to encourage them to proceed on an easterly course, he would put about. The crews consented, but in the time agreed upon they advanced only to the mouth of a river to which the commander gave the name Infante, owing to João Infante, captain of the *São Pantaleão*, being the first to leap ashore. The river was probably the Fish, but may have been either the Kowie or the Keiskama as known to us. Its mouth was stated to be twenty-five leagues from the islet of the Cross, and to be in latitude $32\frac{2}{3}^{\circ}$ S., which was very incorrect.

But now, notwithstanding this error, there should have been no doubt in any mind that they had reached the end of the southern seaboard, which in a distance of over nine hundred kilometres does not vary a hundred and seventy kilometres in latitude. The coast before them trended away to the north-east in a bold clear line, free of the haze that almost always hung over the western shore. And down it, only a short distance from the land, flowed a swift ocean current many degrees warmer than the water on either side, and revealing itself even to a careless eye by its deeper blue. That current could only come from a heated sea in the north, and so they might have known that the eastern side of Africa had surely been reached.

Whether the explorers observed these signs the Portuguese writers who recorded their deeds, though in a manner so incomplete as to cause nothing but regret to-day, do not inform us,* but from the river Infante

* The probabilities are that they did not, otherwise the information they carried back would have been regarded as much more important than it was considered to be by the king and by all the writers of the time. Ptolemy's map, on which Africa was made to turn like a horn and project so far eastward as to enclose the Indian ocean, was still treated with respect, and the discoveries of Dias seemed at the time as if they tended rather to confirm than to refute this geographical feature. According to the view of those who regarded Ptolemy and Edrisi as safe guides, Dias had sailed

the expedition turned back. At Santa Cruz Dias landed again, and bade farewell to the cross which he had set up there with as much sorrow as if he was parting with a son banished for life. In returning, the great headland was discovered, to which the commander gave the name Cabo Tormentoso—the Stormy Cape,—afterwards changed by the king to Cabo de Boa Esperança—Cape of Good Hope,—owing to the fair prospect which he could now entertain of India being at last reached by this route. What particular part of the peninsula Dias landed upon is unknown, but somewhere on it he set up another of the marble pillars he had brought from Portugal, to which he gave the name São Philippe. The country about it he did not explore, as his provisions were so scanty that he was anxious to get away.

Keeping along the coast, after nine months' absence the storeship was rejoined, when only three men were found on board of her, and of these, one, Fernão Colaça by name, died of joy upon seeing his countrymen again. The other six had been murdered by negroes with whom they were trading. Having replenished his scanty supply of provisions, Dias set fire to the storeship, as she was in need of refitting, and he had not men to work her; and then sailed to Prince's Island in the bight of Biafra, where he found some Portuguese in distress. A gentleman of the king's household, named Duarte Pacheco Pereira, had been sent to explore the rivers on that part of the coast, but had lost his vessel, and was then lying ill at the island with part of the crew who had escaped from the wreck. Dias took them all on board, being very glad not only to relieve his countrymen but to obtain more

along the southern side of the horn, without finding its end, and therefore had not done much more than Diogo Cam and other previous explorers. To-day, with our knowledge, his feat is regarded very differently, but neither the king nor the people considered at the time that it entitled him to any special reward or mark of favour.

men to work his ships, so many of those who sailed with him from Portugal having died, and, pursuing his course in a north-westerly direction, touched at a river where trade was carried on, and also at the fort of São Jorge da Mina, an established Portuguese factory,* of which João Fogaça was then commander. Here he took charge of the gold that had been collected, after which he proceeded on his way to Lisbon, where he arrived in December 1487, sixteen months and seventeen days from the time of his setting out.

No other dates than those mentioned are given by the early Portuguese historians, thus the exact time of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and the coast onward to the mouth of the Infante river is doubtful, and it can only be stated as having occurred in the winter months of 1487. The voyage surely was a memorable one, and nothing but regret can be expressed that more of its details cannot be recovered. Of the three pillars set up by Dias, two—those of the Holy Cross and São Philippe—disappeared, no one has ever been able to ascertain when or how; that of São Thiago at Angra Pequena remained where it was placed until it was broken down by some unknown vandals about the commencement of the nineteenth century.

Meantime the king sent two men named Affonso de Paiva, of Castelbranco, and João Pires,† of Covilhão, in

* The factory of São Jorge da Mina was established in January 1482, by Diogo d'Azambuja, and was the first permanent Portuguese settlement on the western coast of Africa and the centre of the trade in gold. It was wrested from the Portuguese by the Dutch in 1637, and was held by them until April 1872, when it was transferred to England in exchange for some other territory on the coast. It is now known as Elmina, but the castle built by the Portuguese retains its ancient name Saint George.

† Called João Pires, of Covilhão, by Damião de Goes, Pedro de Covilhão by Castanheda and Barros. Modern Portuguese writers follow De Goes in the name. See the *Indice Chronologico das Navegações, Viagens, Descobrimientos, e Conquistas dos Portuguezes nos Paizes Ultramarinos desde o Principio do Seculo XV*, Lisboa 1841,

another direction to search for Prester John. For this purpose they left Santarem on the 7th of May 1487, and being well provided with money, they proceeded first to Naples, then to the island of Rhodes, and thence to Alexandria. They were both conversant with the Arabic language, and had no difficulty in passing for Moors. At Alexandria they were detained some time by illness, but upon recovering they proceeded to Cairo, and thence in the disguise of merchants to Tor, Suakin, and Aden. Here they separated, Affonso de Paiva having resolved to visit Abyssinia to ascertain if the monarch of that country was not the potentate they were in search of, and João Pires taking passage in a vessel bound to Cananor on the Malabar coast. They arranged, however, to meet again in Cairo at a time fixed upon.

João Pires reached Cananor in safety, and went down the coast as far as Calicut, the most important trading station on the western shore of Hindostan, after which he proceeded upward to Goa. Here he embarked in a vessel bound to Sofala in South-Eastern Africa, and having visited that port he returned to Aden, and at the time appointed was back in Cairo, where he learned that Affonso de Paiva had died not long before. At Cairo he found two Portuguese Jews, Rabbi Habrão, of Beja, and Josepe, a shoemaker of Lamego. Josepe had been in Bagdad, on the Euphrates, some years previously, and had there heard of Ormuz, at the mouth of the Persian gulf, and of its being the warehouse of the Indian trade and the place of departure of the vessels that brought the products of the East up the river to the city where he then was, whence they were conveyed by caravans to Aleppo and Damascus. He had returned to Portugal and

João Pires on page 69. Barros says of him: "The king, seeing how necessary an acquaintance with the Arabic tongue was for this journey, sent upon this business one Pedro de Covilhão, a gentleman of his household who was well acquainted with it, and in his company another named Affonso de Paiva, and they were sent from Santarem on the 7th of May 1487."

informed the king of what he had learned, who thereupon sent him and Habrão with letters of instruction to Affonso de Paiva and João Pires, directing them if they had not already found Prester John, to proceed to Ormuz and gather all the information they could there.

Upon receiving this order João Pires drew up an account of what he had seen and learned in India and on the African coast, which he gave to Josepe to convey to the king, and taking Habrão with him, he proceeded to Aden and thence to Ormuz. From Ormuz Habrão set out for the Euphrates in a vessel, intending to proceed with a caravan from Bagdad to Aleppo on his way back to Portugal with a duplicate of the narrative sent to the king by Josepe. None of the early Portuguese historians who had access to the records of the country ever saw this narrative, so that probably neither of the Jews lived to deliver his charge. Not a single date is given in the early accounts of this journey, except that of the departure from Santarem, which De Goes fixes as May 1486 * and Castanheda and Barros as the 7th of May 1487. There is no trace of any knowledge in Portugal of the commerce of Sofala before the return of Vasco da Gama in 1499, but as such a journey as that described must in the fifteenth century have occupied several years, it is just possible that Josepe or Habrão reached Lisbon after that date.

João Pires went from Ormuz by way of Aden to Abyssinia, where he was well received by the ruler of that country. Here, after all his wanderings he found a home, for as he was not permitted to leave again, he married and had children, living upon property given to him by the government. In 1515 Dom Rodrigo de Lima arrived in Abyssinia as ambassador of the king of Portugal, and found him still alive. With the embassy was a priest, Francisco Alvares by name, who wrote an account of the mission and of the statement made to

* Probably a misprint.

him by João Pires, and also gave such information on his return home as enabled the Portuguese historians to place on record the above details. As far as actual result in increase of geographical knowledge is concerned, this expedition of Affonso de Paiva and João Pires therefore effected nothing.

In the laudable spirit of modern times, prompted by a desire to rectify error, men do not hesitate to question the accuracy of even the most renowned writers of old. But the great authority of De Barros requires that very substantial proof should be supplied before any date given by him is overturned, especially when that date is given three different times, and is indirectly corroborated by other contemporary historians. In an article entitled *The Voyages of Diogo Cão and Bartholomeu Dias 1482-88*, by E. G. Ravenstein, in the *Geographical Journal*, volume xvi, July to December 1900, page 625, an attempt is made to substitute other dates for the voyages of Diogo Cam and Bartholomeu Dias than those given by João de Barros, but the arguments supplied do not seem to me to be of much weight.

This is what Mr. Ravenstein says:

"We do not know whether Cão was given the command of one or of more vessels, nor have the names of any of his officers been placed on record.

"Cão was the first to carry padrões, or pillars of stone, on an exploring voyage. Up to his time the Portuguese had been content to erect perishable wooden crosses, or to carve inscriptions into trees, to mark the progress of their discoveries. King John conceived the happy idea of introducing stone pillars surmounted by a cross, and bearing in addition to the royal arms, an inscription recording in Portuguese, and sometimes also in Latin, the date, the name of the king by whose order the voyage was made, and the name of the commander. The four padrões set up by Cão on his two voyages have been discovered in situ, and the inscriptions upon two of them (one for each voyage) are still legible, notwithstanding the lapse of four centuries, and have been deciphered.

"During the first voyage two padrões were set up—one at the Congo mouth, the other on the Cabo do Lobo in latitude 13° 26' S., now known as Cape St. Mary. The latter has been recovered intact. It consists of a shaft 1·69 m. high and 0·73 m. in circumference, surmounted by a cube 0·47 m. in height and 0·33 in breadth. Shaft and cube are cut out of a single block of liaz, a kind of limestone or coarse marble common in the environs of

Lisbon. The cross has disappeared, with the exception of a stump, from which it is seen that it also was of stone, and fixed by means of lead.

"The arms of Portugal carved upon the face of the cube are those in use up to 1485; in which year João II, being then at Beja, caused the green cross of the Order of Avis, which had been improperly introduced by his grandfather, who had been master of that order, to be withdrawn and the position of the quinas, or five escutcheons, to be changed.

"The inscription covers the three other sides of the cube. It is in Gothic letters and in Portuguese, and reads as follows: 'In the year 6681 of the World, and in that of 1482 since the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ, the most serene, most excellent and potent prince, King D. João II. of Portugal did order (*mandou*) this land to be discovered and these padrões to be set up by D° Cão, an esquire (*escudeiro*) of his household.' There is no inscription in Latin.

"As the year 6681 of Eusebius begins on September 1, 1481, we gather from this inscription that the order for the expedition was given between January and August, 1482. Of course the departure may have been delayed, but the delay cannot have been a long one, as Cão was home again before April, 1484.

"Cão came back to Lisbon probably in the beginning of 1484, and certainly before April of that year. The king, first of all, made him a 'cavalleiro' of his household. He then, on April 8, 1484, 'in consideration of the services rendered in the course of a voyage of discovery to Guinea, from which he had now returned,' granted him an annuity of ten thousand reals, to be continued to one surviving son; and a few days afterwards, on April 14, he separated his cavalier from the common herd and made him noble, and gave him a coat-of-arms charged with the two padrões which he had erected on the coast of Africa.

* * * * *

"Far more useful for our purpose is the pillar which formerly stood on Cape Cross, and which Captain Becker of the *Falke* carried off to Kiel* in 1893. Dr. Scheppig has fully described the pillar.

"The Portuguese inscription says—'In the year 6685 of the creation of the world, and of Christ 485, the excellent, illustrious King D. João II. of Portugal did direct this land to be discovered, and this padrão to be set up by D° Cão, a cavalleiro of his household.

* The German emperor has since caused an exact copy of it to be erected, substituting granite for marble.

"As the year 6685 of the Eusebian era begins on September 1, 1485, Cão must have departed after that day, and before the close of the year. As he had returned from his first voyage before April, 1484, his departure must have been delayed for reasons unknown to us.

"THE VOYAGE OF BARTHOLOMEU DIAS, 1487-88.

"No sooner had Cão's vessels returned to the Tagus than King John, whose curiosity had been excited by the reports about the supposed Prester John, brought home by d'Aveiro, determined to fit out another expedition to go in search of him by doubling Africa, Friar Antonio of Lisbon and Pero of Montaroyo having already been despatched on the same errand by way of Jerusalem and Egypt. The command of this expedition was conferred upon Bartholomeu Dias de Novaes, a cavalier of the king's household. . . . It certainly was our Bartholomeu who commanded one of the vessels despatched in 1481 with Diogo d'Azambuja to the Gold Coast.

"The appointment seems to have been made in October, 1486, for on the 10th of that month King John, in consideration of services which he hoped to receive, conferred upon Bartholomeu Dias, the 'patron' of the *S. Christovão*, a royal vessel, an annuity of 6,000 reis.

"The account which João de Barros has transmitted to us of the remarkable expedition which resulted in the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope is fragmentary, and on some points undoubtedly erroneous. Unfortunately, up till now no official report of the expedition has been discovered; but there are a few incidental references to it, which enable us to amplify, and in some measure to correct, the version put forward by the great Portuguese historian.

"Most important among these independent witnesses is a marginal note on fol. 13 of a copy of Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi*, which was the property of Christopher Columbus, and is still in the Columbine Library at Seville. This 'note' reads as follows:—

"'Note, that in December of this year, 1488, there landed at Lisbon Bartholomeu Didacus [Dias], the commander of three caravels, whom the King of Portugal had sent to Guinea to seek out the land, and who reported that he had sailed 600 leagues beyond the furthest reached hitherto, that is, 450 leagues to the south and then 150 leagues to the north, as far as a cape named by him the Cape of Good Hope, which cape we judge to be in Agisimba, its latitude, as determined by the astrolabe, being 45° S., and its distance from Lisbon 3100 leagues. This voyage he [Dias] had depicted and described from league to league upon a chart, so that

he might show it to the king; at all of which I was present (*in quibus omnibus interfui*).’

“The same voyage is referred to in a second ‘note’ discovered in the margin of the *Historia rerum ubique gestarum* of Pope Pius II, printed at Venice in 1477. From this second note we learn that ‘one of the captains whom the most serene King of Portugal sent forth to seek out the land in Guinea brought back word in 1488 that he had sailed 45° beyond the equinoctial line.’

“Las Casas (*Historia de las Indias*, lib. i. c. 7) assumed these notes to have been written by Bartholomew Columbus, whom, as the result of a misconception of the meaning of the concluding words of the note, he supposed to have taken part in this voyage. These assumptions, however, are absolutely inadmissible, for as early as February 10, 1488, Bartholomew had completed at London a map of the world for Henry VII. If we remember that Bartholomew was detained by pirates for several weeks before he reached England, he must have left Lisbon towards the end of 1487. He did not return to that place until many years afterwards.

“On the other hand, the note is unhesitatingly recognized as in the handwriting of Christopher by such competent authorities as Varnhagen, d’Avezac, H. Harris, Asensio, and Cesare de Lollis.

“And if Christopher is the author of these notes, they must have been written in 1488, for it was in March, 1488, that King Manuel, in response to an application, cordially invited his ‘especial friend,’ Christopher Columbus, to come to Lisbon, promising him protection against all criminal and civil proceedings that might be taken against him. Columbus, when he received this royal invitation, was at Seville, where his son Ferdinand was born unto him on September 28, 1488. If he left Seville soon afterwards, he may certainly have been present on the memorable occasion, in December, 1488, when Bartholomeu Dias rendered an account to the king of the results of his hope-inspiring voyage.

“If then, Bartholomeu Dias returned in December, 1488, after an absence (according to De Barros) of sixteen months and seventeen days, he must have started towards the end of July or in the beginning of August, 1487; and if the Bartholomeu Dias referred to in the royal rescript of October 10, 1486, is the discoverer of the Cape, which hardly admits of a doubt, he cannot have started in July, 1486, as usually assumed. He cannot have been in Lisbon in December, 1487.

“This date (namely 1488) is further confirmed by Duarte Pacheco Pereira, the ‘Achilles Lusitano’ of Camoens, for in his *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*, written soon after 1505, but only published in 1892, we are told that the Cape was discovered in 1488. And Pacheco

is a very competent witness, for Dias, on his homeward voyage, met him at the Ilha do Principe.

"A further statement respecting the date of the discovery of the Cape appears in the *Parecer*, or 'Opinion,' of the Spanish astronomers and pilots already referred to. They say, 'And beyond this [the Sierra Parda, where Cão died], Bartolomé Diaz, in the year 1488, discovered as far as the Cabo d'El-Rei, a distance of 350 leagues; and thence to the Cabo de Boa Esperança, 250 leagues; and thence D. Vasco da Gama discovered 600 leagues.'"

This evidence, though very interesting and exhibiting proof of much diligent research, does not seem to me to be by any means conclusive.

The marginal note supposed to have been made by Christopher Columbus I reject at once, as I cannot believe that the latitude named in it was given by Dias or recorded by Columbus.

As for the work of Duarte Pacheco Pereira, it cannot for a moment be placed in the scale against Barros. Its author was born in Lisbon about 1451, and is believed to have died in poverty some time between the years 1524 and 1533. His name must be mentioned with the greatest respect, for his defence of Cochin in 1504 was one of the most remarkable feats that shed lustre on the Portuguese arms in India. It was he who was rescued at Prince's Island and taken to Lisbon, so that he must have been acquainted with the correct date, but as his original manuscript has perished and the copy made from it was done carelessly and certainly contains transcriber's errors, I do not think much dependence can be placed on the statements in it. There are two manuscript copies of his work in existence. The oldest, now in the library at Evora, is supposed from the style of the writing to have been made about the close of the sixteenth century, and the other, now in the national library in Lisbon, is merely a transcript of the first made at a much later date. The work was published in Lisbon in 1892 in a foolscap folio volume of xxxv+125 pages, and is divided into four books. It is entitled *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis, por Duarte Pacheco Pereira. Edição comemorativa da Descoberta da America por Christovão Colombo no seu quarto centenario, sob a direcção de Raphael Eduardo de Azevedo Basto, Conservador do Real Archivo da Torre do Tombo.*

I give here the two references to the voyage of Dias, from which the reader can see how little this work of Duarte Pacheco is to be depended upon. In a reference to the first voyage of Diogo Cam he states, as in the second of these, that the inscription on the cross was in three languages: Latin, Portuguese, and Arabic. That identical cross is still in existence, and there is no Arabic

upon it. See also the confusion between the Penedo das Fontes and the Ilheo da Santa Cruz.

Terceyro Liuro, pagina 90.

Nom sem muita rasam se poz nome a este promontorio cabo da boa esperanza por que Bartholomeu Dias que o descobrio por mandado delRey Dom Joham que Deos tem no anno de nosso senhor de mil quatrocentos & oitenta & oito annos veendo que esta costa & Ribeira do mar voltaua daly em diante ao norte & ao nordest. . . .

Terceyro Liuro, pagina 94.

Item; sinco leguoas adiante dangra do Rico esta hum Ilheo pouco mais de mea legua de terra que se chama ho penedo das fontes o qual nome lhe pos Bertholameu Dias que esta terra descobrio por mandado delRey Dom Joham que Deos tem por que achou aly duas fontes de muito boa augua doce & por outro nome se chama este penedo ho Ilheo da Cruz por que o mesmo Bertholameu Dias pos aly hum padram de pedra pouco mais alto que hum homem com huma cruz em sima & este padram tem tres letreyros .s. hum em latim & outro em harabiguo & outro em nossa lingua portugueza & todos tres dizem huma cousa .s. como elRey Dom Joham no anno de nosso senhor Jesus cristo de mil cccc & oytenta & oyto annos & em tantos annos da creaçam do mundo mandou descobrir esta costa por Bertholameu Dias capitam de seus nauios; . . .

The remaining references seem to me equally weak, and until something more conclusive comes to light I think it would be well to adhere to the dates of Barros. I notice, however, that Mr. K. G. Jayne, in his *Vasco da Gama and his Successors*, has adopted the dates of Mr. Ravenstein.

CHAPTER III.

SUCCESSFUL VOYAGE OF VASCO DA GAMA TO INDIA.

UPON the return of Dias to Portugal with information that he had discovered the southern extremity of Africa and found an open sea stretching away to the eastward from the farthest point he had reached, though this might only wash the southern shore of a long horn, King João II resolved to send another expedition to follow up the grand pathway of exploration which now offered so fair a prospect of an ocean route to India being found at last. If there was a horn projecting far to the east, or in other words if the continent of Africa was joined to a southern belt of land stretching for a long distance round the globe, as Ptolemy believed to be the case, there might be a strait through it leading into the Indian sea, and at any rate by following the course of Dias along its shore, the great island of Taprobane as called by the ancients, Ceylon as we term it, might be reached. This island was then believed to be very much larger than it actually is, and to stretch far away to the southward.

But at that time things were not done as quickly as now, and there was besides much else to occupy the monarch's attention. The outlay too would be considerable, as ships would have to be built specially to withstand the stormy seas off the Cape of Good Hope, and the kingdom was then by no means wealthy. Orders, however, were given to the chief huntsman, João de Bragança, to collect the necessary timber, and by the year 1494 it was ready at Lisbon. Whether anything further

was done towards the construction of the vessels before the death of the king, which took place at Alvor on the 25th of October 1495, is not certain; but probably some progress had been made, as a commander in chief of the intended expedition was selected in the person of Estevão da Gama, chief alcaide of the little fishing town of Sinis.

King João II, having no legitimate son, was succeeded by his first cousin Dom Manuel, duke of Beja, who was son of Fernando, brother of Affonso V. The new monarch was not as able a man as his predecessor, but he possessed a full measure of that fondness for prosecuting maritime discoveries which for three-quarters of a century had distinguished the princes of Portugal. Within a year of his accession the subject of making another attempt to reach India by sea was mooted at several general councils held at New Montemor, but met with strong opposition. There were those who urged that Portugal was not strong enough to conquer and keep possession of such a distant country should it be reached, that too much public treasure had already been thrown away in fitting out exploring ships, that no adequate return had yet been made, and that even if a route to India should be opened, it would only bring powerful rivals into the field at least to share its commerce. Those nobles, however, who were anxious to please the king favoured the design, and at length it was resolved to send out another expedition.

Accordingly under direction of Bartholomeu Dias two ships were built with the timber that was ready, his experience enabling him to point out where they required special strengthening. Very clumsy indeed they would be considered now, with their bluff bows like the breast of a duck projecting forward above the water line to make them ride over the sea as much as possible, with broad square sterns, lofty poops and forecastles, low waists, and great length of beam; but they were staunch sea boats,

capable of receiving without damage the buffeting of the furious waves they were intended to encounter. The larger of the two, named the *São Gabriel*, was rated as of one hundred and twenty tons, and the smaller, named the *São Rafael*, as of one hundred; but a Portuguese ton of that period, as has already been observed, was probably much larger than an English ton of our times, and from their build they would be able to carry a great deal more than their registered capacity would denote. They were fitted with three masts, the fore and main each carrying two square sails, and the mizen a lateen projecting far over the stern. Under the bowsprit, the outer end of which was so greatly elevated that it was almost like a fourth mast, was a square spritsail, which completed the spread of canvas. Jibs and staysails there were none, nor anything but a flag above the topsail yards. Such was the build and rig of vessels from which the graceful barques of our time have been evolved. To accompany these ships a stout caravel was purchased from a man named Berrio, whose name it bore. A storeship of two hundred tons burden was also purchased by the king from one Aires Correa, of Lisbon, so that a supply of provisions sufficient for three years might be taken by the expedition.

Spare spars, sails, and rigging were placed on board the ships, as also samples of various kinds of merchandise and many articles that could be used for presentation to such potentates as might be found. In all respects the fleet was thus as well fitted out as was possible at that period. When all was ready the vessels dropped down the Tagus to Rastello and anchored in front of Belem, with a caravel under command of Bartholomeu Dias, which was to accompany them to the Cape Verde islands, and after seeing them on their course in safety, proceed to São Jorge da Mina.

Estevão da Gama was now dead, so King Manuel offered the chief command of the expedition to his eldest

son Paulo da Gama. He, however, respectfully declined on account of a complaint from which he was suffering, and asked to have the second place, in which the responsibility would be less, and that his younger brother Vasco might be appointed commander in chief. The king consented, and in January 1497 summoned Vasco da Gama to Estremoz, where he was then residing, and conferred the highest post in the expedition upon him.

Vasco da Gama is the hero of Portugal, because he was successful in reaching India, and because his exploits were the theme of the famous poem of Luis de Camões. And if intrepidity, energy, perseverance under difficulties, and intense application to duty are the qualities that constitute greatness, he was beyond question one of the foremost that ever lived. But he was far from being a lovable man. Cold, harsh, stern, severe in punishing, fearful when in a passion, he was obeyed not from affection, but because of his commanding spirit. Perhaps if ~~he~~ had been as tenderhearted and humane as his brother Paulo he would not have succeeded in the great enterprise entrusted to him, where what was needed was an iron will. He was a man of medium height, at this time unmarried, and about thirty-seven years of age. He had served the late king at sea with much credit to himself, and was experienced in nautical matters.

Shortly before setting sail the king presented to him a silken banner, having on it a cross of the order of Christ, when he made the usual homage and swore to execute the trust confided to him to the best of his ability. All being ready for sea, and only waiting for a fair wind, he and the other officers repaired to the hermitage of our Lady of Bethlehem, where they passed some time in devotion. On the morning of Saturday the 8th of July 1497, not quite five years after Columbus sailed from Palos to discover a new continent in the west, the wind was favourable, so they prepared to leave. At the hermitage a procession was formed of friars and

priests from Lisbon, a large number of people from the city, and Vasco da Gama and his companions carrying tapers; and chanting a litany they proceeded to the shore, where the boats were in waiting. All knelt down while the vicar of the hermitage pronounced an absolution, and then with the echo of these closing rites of religion in their ears Da Gama and his associates embarked. The sails were unfurled, and the five vessels stood away. As was afterwards ascertained, it was not the proper time of the year to set out, but nothing was then known of the periodical monsoons in the Indian sea or of the prevailing summer and winter winds off the African coast.

On board the *São Gabriel*, which was the flagship, was Vasco da Gama himself, and with him as sailing master was Gonçalo Alvares, and as chief pilot Pedro d'Alanquer, who had been with Bartholomeu Dias to the river Infante. Diogo Dias, a brother of Bartholomeu, accompanied him as secretary. Of the *São Rafael* Paulo da Gama was captain, João de Coimbra was pilot, and João de Sá secretary. Of the *Berrio* Nicolau Coelho was captain, Pedro Escolar was pilot, and Alvaro de Braga secretary. Of the storeship Gonçalo Nunes was captain. The number of men on board the four vessels is given by Castanheda as one hundred and forty-eight and by Barros as about one hundred and seventy, between soldiers and sailors. The discrepancy may be accounted for by the officers not being included by the first writer. A friar of the Holy Trinity named Pedro de Cobilhões, accompanied the expedition as chaplain, and a number of criminals were sent with it to be put on shore in remote and dangerous places to gather information. Probably the criminals were not included in either of the numbers given above.

The Cape Verde islands were appointed as a rendezvous in case the vessels should be separated by any accident, and this actually happened in a storm after passing the Canaries, but eight days later they came together again,

and on the 28th of July cast anchor off Santa Maria in the island of Santiago. Here they remained seven days taking in water and repairing the damages sustained in the storm. On Thursday the 3rd of August they again set sail, and soon afterwards Bartholomeu Dias bade Da Gama farewell, and steered towards São Jorge da Mina.

All preceding expeditions in this direction had kept close to the coast, thereby losing much time; but Da Gama adopted a bolder plan. The longitude of the Cape of Good Hope being unknown, he could not steer directly for it, but by keeping almost due south he could run down his latitude, and then if necessary steer eastward where the degrees of the smaller circle were shorter. Holding this course during the months of August, September, and October, during which time they were often in peril from boisterous weather, but always managed to keep together, the four vessels turned eastward when it was believed they were in or near the latitude of the Cape, and on Saturday the 4th of November the South African coast was first seen. They ran in close, but as it did not offer a fitting place for anchoring, they stood off again, and continued sailing along it until Tuesday the 7th, when they discovered a deep curve which would provide sufficient shelter. The pilot Pedro d'Alanquer did not know the place, not having seen it in his earlier voyage, but they dropped their anchors in it, and gave it the name Saint Helena Bay, which it still bears. It is about one hundred and ninety-three kilometres, or one hundred and twenty English miles, north of the Cape of Good Hope.

Here Da Gama went on shore, but found the land sterile and apparently uninhabited. He was in want of water, and as none could be discovered, he sent Nicolau Coelho in a boat along the coast to seek for the mouth of a stream. At a distance of about twenty-seven kilometres from the ships Coelho came to the outlet of a river, to which the name São Thiago was given. It is

now know as the Berg. Here they procured water, fuel, and the flesh of seals, there being a great number of these animals on the shore.

To ascertain the position of the place Da Gama took a wooden instrument for measuring the angle of the sun's altitude to land, where it could be fixed more steadily on a tripod than on board ship. It would be interesting to know just what kind of instrument this was, but that cannot be ascertained. Barros terms it a wooden astrolabe,—which it can hardly have been,—and says that he has described it in his *Geography*, a book now unfortunately lost. Probably it was a kind of cross staff, several varieties of which were in common use at a little later date, but this is only conjecture. A method of using the brass astrolabe at sea had been devised in 1480 by two physicians of King João II, one of whom was a Jew, in association with the astronomer Martin Behaim of Nuremberg, and tables of the sun's declination had been drawn up for the purpose. But the astrolabe, beautiful an instrument as it was,* gave very imperfect results, except in calm weather and when the angle observed was large. A century and a quarter later the celebrated navigator John Davis described its utility at sea as small in comparison with that of the cross staff. Da Gama had several brass astrolabes with him, but he placed no reliance upon them, and so with this wooden instrument, whatever it was, he went on shore to make observations. While he was thus engaged, some of his people observed two savages who appeared to be gathering herbs and honey at the foot of a hill, as each had a firebrand with him. Surrounding them quietly and stealthily, one was captured, who appeared greatly terrified on being made a prisoner by such strange beings as Europeans must have been to him.

* There is a very fine collection from different countries in the British museum, that institution of which every Englishman has such just reason to be proud.

He was taken to Da Gama, who was desirous of gathering as much information about the country as possible, and particularly of ascertaining how far distant was the Cape of Good Hope; but no one in the fleet could understand a word of what he said. He was kept on board ship that night, and ate and drank freely of the food that was set before him. Two boys, one of whom was a negro, were placed with him as companions, but could only communicate with him by signs. The next day he was provided with one or two articles of clothing, and some trinkets were given to him, after which he was set at liberty. This kind of treatment made such a favourable impression upon him and his countrymen that it was not long before a party of fifteen or twenty made an appearance. Vasco da Gama pleased them greatly with presents of pewter rings, little bells, beads, and other articles of trifling value, but he could obtain by signs no information of any kind from them, nor did they show the slightest knowledge or appreciation of the samples of gold, silver, pearls, and spices which he exhibited to them.

In the description given of these people there is but one observation that shows they were Hottentots of the beachranger class, not Bushmen, which is that among their weapons were assagais or shafts of wood pointed with bone or horn, which they used as lances or darts. They were small in stature, ill favoured in countenance, and darkish in colour. Their dress was a kaross of skin. When speaking they used so many gestures that they appeared to be rolling or staggering about. Their food consisted of wild roots, seals, whales that washed up on the coast, seabirds, and every kind of land animal or bird that they could capture. They had no domestic animal but the dog. This description would apply to Bushmen as well as to beachranger Hottentots, if the weapon had not been mentioned, and perhaps the kaross, which is said to have been worn like a French cloak,

and was probably therefore composed of several skins sewn together, whereas the Bushman was satisfied with one.

A friendly intercourse having been kept up with these savages for a couple of days, a soldier named Fernão Veloso requested leave to accompany them to their place of residence when they were preparing to return to it. This was granted, with the object of his obtaining some knowledge of the style of their habitations and of the condition of the country about their kraal, which was believed to be at a distance of about thirteen or fourteen kilometres. On the way a seal was captured and eaten, and then Veloso, though the most arrant braggart of his exploits and his bravery in the whole fleet, became suspicious of some evil design against himself. There is no proof of treachery of any kind on the part of the Hottentots, but when people cannot understand each other distrust arises easily. Veloso began to retrace his steps in great haste, and was followed by the Hottentots, who could certainly easily have overtaken him if they had wished to do so. That they did not is a strong indication that they were acting from curiosity rather than enmity.

Nicolau Coelho was in a boat near the shore when Veloso was seen running towards the embarking place, shouting loudly for help; but he and the others with him rather enjoyed the spectacle, on account of the man's boastful disposition. Da Gama was seated at table at his evening meal when through the window of the cabin he saw a commotion on shore, and immediately got into a boat and was rowed towards the beach to ascertain what was the matter. Some of the officers of the *São Gabriel* and of the other vessels followed. On the first boat reaching the shore, two of the savages went towards it, but were driven back with their faces covered with blood. Then followed a skirmish, in which Vasco da Gama himself, Gonçalo Alvares, and two sailors were slightly wounded with the stones, assagais, and arrows showered

upon them by the Hottentots. The white men, on their part, made use of their crossbows, and believed they caused some execution with them. Though in all the Portuguese accounts the savages are charged with treachery, the whole affair appears to have arisen through a mistake, as Fernão Veloso remained uninjured, and was taken safely on board.

In this bay of Saint Helena crayfish were found in great abundance, which must have proved a very welcome relief to men so long confined to salted provisions. Some fish were also secured with the hook, and a whale was captured, which nearly cost the lives of Paulo da Gama and a boat's crew. They had fastened the harpoon line to an immovable thwart of the boat, and the whale in its struggles would have pulled them gunwale under and swamped them if it had not fortunately for them grounded in shallow water.

On the morning of Thursday the 16th of November Da Gama set sail from Saint Helena Bay. At this time of the year the wind is usually dead ahead for vessels on his course, but on this occasion it was blowing from the south-south-west, so that he was able to run along the coast with his yards sharply braced. On Saturday afternoon he saw the Cape of Good Hope, but thought it prudent to stand away on the other tack for the night, and therefore did not double it until Monday the 20th. All on board were in high spirits and made merry as well as they could, for instead of the stormy seas they had expected to encounter here, the weather was so fine that they could keep close to the land on their eastward course, and had sight of people and cattle upon it.

On Sunday the 26th of November the fleet reached the inlet termed by Da Gama the Watering Place of São Bras, now Mossel Bay. Here, after they had been several days at anchor, a number of Hottentots appeared, some—men and women—riding on pack oxen. They were

very friendly, for on Da Gama's going on shore they received with much pleasure the bawbles which he presented to them, and exchanged some of their ivory armrings for scarlet caps. Afterwards more arrived, bringing a few sheep, which were obtained in barter. The Portuguese listened with pleasure to the tunes which these Hottentots played with reeds, their usual way of entertaining strangers. Treachery, however, was suspected, and quarrels arose, so after a while Da Gama moved from his first anchorage to another to get away from the wild people, but they followed him along the shore, upon which he fired at them to frighten them, when they fled inland.

The little island in the bay was found covered with seals and penguins. While at anchor here Da Gama set up on the high southern point a pillar having on it a cross and the arms of Portugal, but the Hottentots broke it down before he left. Everything was now removed from the storeship to the other vessels, and she was then burned, as there was no further need for her. Having taken in water, on Friday the 8th of December, after a detention of thirteen days, the *São Gabriel*, *São Rafael*, and *Berrio* sailed from the watering place of São Bras, and proceeded on their course eastward.

Shortly afterwards a storm arose, which caused great terror to the seamen, but the wind was from the westward, so they ran before it under short canvas until the 16th of December, when they found themselves at the low rocks now called the Bird islands, on the eastern side of Algoa Bay. Here the wind became light and variable, and after attaining a point considerably beyond the river Infante, the current carried them back again as far as the islet of the Cross. On the 20th, however, a westerly breeze set in, which enabled them to make good progress once more. They kept close to the land, and observed that it constantly improved in appearance, the trees becoming higher, and the cattle on the pastures

more numerous. The green hills and forest-clad mountains formed indeed a striking contrast to the sterile waste they had seen at Saint Helena Bay. On the 25th of December the charming country in sight was named by Da Gama Natal, in memory of the day when Christian men first saw it. It is uncertain what part of the coast he was then sailing along, the only indication—and that a very imperfect one, namely the distance run—given by any early Portuguese writer placing it a little north of the Umzimkulu river.

Wherever it was, from this point for some reason Da Gama stood out to sea, and was not in sight of the coast again until the 6th of January 1498, when he reached the mouth of a stream to which he gave the name Rio dos Reys, or River of the Kings, the day being the festival of the wise men or kings of the Roman calendar. By others, however, it was termed the Copper river, on account of the quantity of that metal found in use by the inhabitants, and it was subsequently known by both names. It was the Limpopo of our day.

It was observed from the ships that the people on shore were black and of large stature, so a man named Martim Affonso, who could speak several of the Bantu dialects of the western coast, was sent with a companion to gather information. He found them very friendly, and was soon able to understand a little of what they said to him, for he was quick of perception and many words in use there and on the coast of Guinea are almost identical. Having ascertained this, Da Gama sent the chief a present of some red clothing and a copper bracelet, and so favourably disposed was every one that Martim Affonso and his companion remained on shore that night and were hospitably entertained. The next day a return present, consisting of a number of hens, was sent on board by the chief, and a friendly intercourse was thereupon established which remained unbroken until the

Portuguese left. The article most in demand by these Bantu was linen cloth, for which they were willing to give a high price in copper. Owing to the manner in which he was treated, and to the provisions—chiefly millet—which he obtained in barter, Da Gama gave to the country the name Land of the Good People. Having taken in water, he set two of the convicts on shore to collect information to give him upon his return, and on the 15th of January sailed again.*

* There is in existence a journal of this voyage of Vasco da Gama kept by some person on board the fleet whose name is unknown. It is not the original document, but a copy made at a very early date, and it agrees so perfectly with the account of the voyage given by the historian Castanheda that it is certain he must have used it. It has been published, the second edition in 1861, and is entitled *Roteiro da Viagem de Vasco da Gama em MCCCCXCVII. Segunda Edição. Correcta e augmentada de algumas observações principalmente philologicas, por A. Herculano e o Barão do Castello de Paiva. Lisboa. Imprensa Nacional. MDCCCLXI*. I was about to translate this journal into English and insert it in the *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, when I was informed that the Hakluyt Society had it in hand and would publish it immediately, so, as I was desirous that my work should not overlap any other, I did nothing to it. The translation published by the Hakluyt Society is entitled *A Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-1499. Translated and Edited with Notes, an Introduction and Appendices, by E. G. Ravenstein, F.R.G.S., Corresponding Member of the Geographical Society of Lisbon. London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society. 1898*.

The first meeting of Europeans with Bantu of the East African coast is recorded in it as follows:

"On Thursday, January 11th [1498] we discovered a small river and anchored near the coast. On the following day we went close in shore in our boats, and saw a crowd of negroes, both men and women. They were tall people, and a chief ('Senhor') was among them. The captain-major ordered Martin Affonso, who had been a long time in Manicongo, and another man, to land. They were received hospitably. The captain-major in consequence sent the chief a jacket, a pair of red pantaloons, a Moorish cap and a bracelet. The chief said that we were welcome to anything in his country of which we stood in need: at least this is how Martin

He now kept away from the coast, fearing that he might be drawn by the currents into some deep bay from which it would be difficult to get out again, and

Affonso understood him. That night, Martin Affonso and his companion accompanied the chief to his village, whilst we returned to the ships. On the road the chief donned the garments which had been presented to him, and to those who came forth to meet him he said with much apparent satisfaction 'Look, what has been given to me!' The people upon this clapped hands as a sign of courtesy, and this they did three or four times until he arrived at the village. Having paraded the place, thus dressed up, the chief retired to his house, and ordered his two guests to be lodged in a compound, where they were given porridge of millet, which abounds in that country, and a fowl, just like those of Portugal. All the night through, numbers of men and women came to have a look at them. In the morning the chief visited them, and asked them to go back to the ships. He ordered two men to accompany them, and gave them fowls as a present for the captain-major, telling them at the same time that he would show the things that had been given him to a great chief, who appears to be the king of that country. When our men reached the landing place where our boats awaited them, they were attended by quite two hundred men, who had come to see them.

"This country seemed to us to be densely peopled. There are many chiefs, and the number of women seems to be greater than that of the men, for among those who came to see us there were forty women to every twenty men. The houses are built of straw. The arms of the people include long bows and arrows and spears with iron blades. Copper seems to be plentiful, for the people wore [ornaments] of it on their legs and arms and in their twisted hair. Tin, likewise, is found in the country, for it is to be seen on the hilts of their daggers, the sheaths of which are made of ivory. Linen cloth is highly prized by the people, who were always willing to give large quantities of copper in exchange for shirts. They have large calabashes in which they carry sea-water inland, where they pour it into pits, to obtain the salt [by evaporation].

"We stayed five days at this place, taking in water, which our visitors conveyed to our boats. Our stay was not, however, sufficiently prolonged to enable us to take in as much water as we really needed, for the wind favoured a prosecution of our voyage.

"We were at anchor here, near the coast, exposed to the swell of the sea. We called the country *Terra da Boa Gente* (land of good people), and the river *Rio do Cobre* (copper river)."

saw nothing more of it until the 24th, when he arrived at the mouth of the Kilimané or Quilimane river. This he entered, and sailing up it he observed that the residents on its southern bank wore loin cloths and that they used canoes with mat sails. Some of them came aboard the ships fearlessly, as if they were accustomed to see such objects, and several could speak a few words of Arabic, though they were not able to carry on a conversation in that language. Three days after the ships anchored a couple of chiefs came on board, one of whom wore a silken turban and the other a green satin cap. Among the people also were some lighter in colour than the others, who seemed to be partly of foreign blood. To the Portuguese these were evidences not to be mistaken of intercourse with more civilised men, so they gave to the stream the name River of Good Omens.

Finding the inhabitants friendly and disposed to barter, though Martim Affonso could not understand their dialect, Da Gama resolved to stay here some time and refit his ships. They were accordingly hove down, cleaned, recaulked, and generally put in better condition than before. During this time, however, scurvy appeared among the people in a very bad form, and many died, while others suffered from fever. In this distress the humanity of Paulo da Gama was displayed in his visiting and comforting the sick, night and day, and liberally distributing among them the delicacies he had provided for his own use. The ships being ready, a pillar, bearing the name São Rafael, was set up, and two convicts were left behind when the fleet sailed, which was on the 24th of February. The *São Rafael* grounded on the bar when going out, but fortunately floated off unharmed with the rising tide.

Keeping well away from the land, Da Gama continued on his course until the afternoon of the 1st of March, when some islands were seen, and on the following morning seven or eight zambucos or small undecked sailing vessels

were observed coming from one of them towards him. The anchors were immediately dropped, as the fleet was close to the island of Saint George where the water was not deep, and soon the sound of kettle-drums was heard and the little vessels were alongside. The men in them were dark-coloured, but were clothed with striped calico, and had silken turbans on their heads and scimitars and daggers at their sides. They entered the ships fearlessly, taking the Portuguese to be Mohamedans like themselves, and began to converse in Arabic, which language was familiar to one of the sailors named Fernão Martins. After being entertained at table, they stated that the island from which they came was named Mozambique, that it was subject to Kilwa, and was a place of considerable trade with India and with Sofala lower down the coast, where gold was obtained. They offered to pilot the ships into the harbour, but Da Gama thought it well not to go there until he was better informed of the condition of things.

After his visitors had taken their departure, however, he sent Nicolau Coelho in the caravel to Mozambique, who reached the harbour safely, though by keeping too close to the island he struck lightly on a reef and unshipped his rudder. Meantime the men who had been aboard the Portuguese ships had reported to the governor what they had seen and that they believed the strangers to be Turks, so with a large retinue he went on board the caravel. His name was Zakoeja. He was a tall slender man of middle age, dressed in a white cotton robe covered with an open velvet tunic, his silken turban was richly embroidered with gold thread, and he had velvet sandals on his feet. At his side was a jewelled scimitar, and in his belt a handsome dagger. He was well received and entertained by Nicolau Coelho, but as there was no interpreter on board he did not stay long.

After this the other two ships came to the anchorage, when Zakoeja with a number of attendants paid a visit

to Vasco da Gama, and was received with as much state as possible. A long conversation was held through the medium of Fernão Martins as interpreter, presents were interchanged, and the governor promised to supply two pilots to conduct the ships to India, which was what Da Gama most of all desired. The governor afterwards brought two pilots on board, who were paid in advance, and remained in the ship. A trade in provisions was opened, and the intercourse between the different peoples was of the most friendly kind. The particulars of the commerce carried on with the countries along the shores of the Indian ocean were ascertained, and much that aroused the cupidity of the Portuguese was learned of Sofala, the famous gold port to the south.

So far all had gone well. But now the Mohamedans came to discover that their visitors were Christians, and immediately everything was changed. The wars of many centuries carried on between the adherents of the two creeds had created a feeling of the deepest animosity between them, and wherever they met—except under very peculiar circumstances—they regarded each other as natural foes. Even here in the Indian sea, where the only Christians hitherto seen were a few humble Nestorian traders, this was the case. One of the pilots deserted, and the attitude of the people on shore was so altered that Da Gama, fearing his ships might be secretly set on fire, removed to the island of Saint George. Here a pillar bearing that name was set up, and beside it an altar where the first religious service of the combined crews was held since their departure from Lisbon.

Da Gama and Nicolau Coelho then left the island of Saint George in boats to demand the absconding pilot at Mozambique, but on the way met a number of zambucos, and a skirmish followed in which the Portuguese were victors, though after beating off their opponents they thought it best to return to their ships. The fleet then set sail, but the wind was so light and variable and the

current so strong that no progress could be made, and after several days the anchors were again dropped at the island of Saint George. Here an Arab came on board with his little son, and offered his services in case of need as a pilot to Melinde, as he said he wished to return to his own country, and this place was on the way. His offer was accepted, and he remained in the *São Gabriel*.

By this time the water was getting short, so Da Gama resolved to return to Mozambique to replenish his casks, as the pilot furnished by Zakoeja promised to show him a spring at a convenient place on the mainland. In the night after coming to the harbour the boats were sent out, but the place could not be found until the next day, and then it was necessary to use force to get possession of it. In the confusion the pilot made his escape. Enraged with the opposition shown and the insults received, Da Gama now determined to inflict punishment upon his adversaries, which he felt confident his superior weapons would enable him to do. Accordingly he attacked the village on the island with his boats, destroyed a palisade intended for defence, and killed several people, among whom was the first pilot who absconded. A few days later he bombarded the village from his ships, and did as much damage as was in his power, which brought the Mohamedans to solicit peace. An agreement, professedly of good will on both sides, was then entered into, and a pilot declared to be competent to conduct the fleet to India was provided by Zakoeja, under whose guidance on the 1st of April the voyage was resumed.

About four hundred kilometres or two hundred and fifty English miles north of Mozambique the new pilot took the vessels among some islets, where they were in danger of being wrecked, and as this was believed to be an act of treachery on his part, Da Gama caused him to be soundly flogged. On this account the islets received

the name Do Açoutado, that is Of the Scourged. Kilwa was the port the captain-general wished to visit next, as he had been told that many of the inhabitants were Christians, but owing to the strong current he was unable to put into it, and therefore steered for Mombasa farther on. On the way the *São Rafael* grounded on a shoal, and at low water lay high and dry, where she was visited by some people from the coast; but when the tide rose she floated off uninjured.

On the 7th of April the fleet arrived off Mombasa. Da Gama would not enter the inner harbour at first, though he received pressing invitations to do so, but he sent two convicts on shore, apparently to convey presents to the ruler of the town, really as spies to make observations. They were watched so closely, however, that they could gather very little information. The messages that passed to and fro were friendly in words, but both parties were evidently on their guard against treachery, and only a limited number of visitors at a time—and those unarmed—were allowed on board the ships. After some days Da Gama, to allay suspicion, promised to go in, but in doing so his ship drifted towards a shoal, and such a clamour was made in letting the anchor go that some visitors to the different vessels became alarmed and jumped overboard. The pilot supplied by Zakoeja did this also, and was picked up and conveyed to land by a boat that was close by at the time. This was regarded by the Portuguese as clear proof of intended treachery, and a very strict watch was kept and no visitors were allowed on board again as long as the fleet remained there.

As soon as he could get away Da Gama set sail for Melinde, under guidance of the Arab who had come with him from Saint George. On the passage he captured a zambuco, and learned from the men in her that the ruler of Melinde would most likely give him a welcome reception, and that there were three or four Indian

trading vessels then in his port. The antagonism between the people of that place and those of Mombasa was indeed so inveterate that the enemy of one would to a certainty be regarded as a friend by the other. Upon his arrival at the port, which was at some distance from the town, communication was opened with the ruler, and so satisfactory were the assurances of good faith and honourable intentions given on both sides that a meeting was arranged to take place on the water.

This was conducted with as much state as possible, the boats being decorated with flags and awnings, and trumpets and other instruments being sounded. A long conversation between Da Gama and the ruler of Melinde was followed by a pledge of peace and friendship between them, which was never afterwards broken. In token of this agreement a pillar, named *Espirito Santo*, with the ruler's consent was set up in the town. By this time nearly half the Portuguese who left Lisbon were dead, and many of the others were ill and weak; but the refreshments obtained at Melinde and the strong confidence now felt that their voyage would terminate favourably did much towards the restoration of health and vigour. The Indian vessels in the port were manned partly by Hindus and partly by Mohamedans. Among these strangers was one named Cana, a native of Guzerat, who was a skilful pilot, and whose services Da Gama secured to conduct him to India.

Leaving Melinde on the 24th of April 1498, twenty-two days later the fleet made the land a few kilometres below Calicut, and the object for which the Portuguese had striven so long and so bravely was attained.

Calicut, the capital of a district of some size, was at that time the most important commercial city and the most powerful military state on the coast of Malabar. Its ruler, styled by the Portuguese the *zamorin* (*Çamorij*), was a Hindu, but the foreign trade was entirely in the hands of Mohamedans, who were either pure Arabs or

descendants of Arabs and Indian women, called Moplas. These were favoured by the zamorin on account of the considerable revenue which the state derived from them. Naturally they were hostile to the Portuguese visitors, partly on account of their religion and partly because they feared the loss of their monopoly of trade. They brought their influence to bear on the ruler, with the result that sometimes hostility, at other times friendship, was shown to the strangers. But Da Gama was able to learn all that he needed to know of the condition of affairs in the country, of the goods that were suitable for trading purposes, and of the articles to be obtained in exchange.

On the 29th of August he sailed from Calicut for Portugal. In the *Roteiro da Viagem* it is stated that he had on board five inhabitants of Calicut whom he had made prisoners, but Barros and the other historians make no mention of these people. If the assertion is correct, they were probably restored to their country by the earliest opportunity, though as nothing more is heard of them the statement seems doubtful. Da Gama touched on the way at the island of Anjediva, where he captured a Jew, whom he took away with him, and who subsequently became a Christian, when he assumed the name Gaspar da Gama. This man was subsequently of much service as an interpreter.*

He made the African coast at Magadosho, which he wantonly bombarded, and then put in at Melinde, where he was received in the same friendly manner as before, and where he remained five days to obtain refreshments, during which time several of his men died. An ambassador

* The abbreviated account which I give of the transactions of the Portuguese in India is taken from the great work of João de Barros. I have translated and published in the *Records of South-Eastern Africa* the sections of this authoritative book relating to Africa, but not those relating to Asia, which would fill several volumes.

from the ruler of the town to the king of Portugal accompanied him when he left. Proceeding on his way homeward, the *São Rafael* struck on the same shoal where she had grounded on the outward passage, and could not be got off again. Da Gama did not regret this much, as after dividing her officers and crew between the *São Gabriel* and the *Berrio*, there were barely sufficient men to work these two vessels, so many having died.

He touched at the island of Saint George, where divine worship was held, and also at the watering place of São Bras; and doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 20th of March 1499. Near the Cape Verde islands the two vessels parted in a storm, and the *Berrio* was the first to reach the Tagus, on the 10th of July 1499, two years and two days after she had sailed away from it. The *São Gabriel* touched at the island of Santiago, where, as she was in urgent need of repairs, João de Sá was instructed to have them made and take her home, and Vasco da Gama hired a caravel in which to proceed at once. His brother Paulo da Gama was very ill with consumption, and he wished to get him to Portugal as speedily as possible. But the invalid grew worse on the way, so the caravel put in at Terceira, where he died. Having interred his remains in the monastery of Saint Francis, Vasco da Gama proceeded to Lisbon, which he reached on the 29th of August, and after making his devotions at the hermitage of our Lady of Bethlehem, was received in the city with every possible demonstration of joy, though of all who sailed with him only fifty-five men saw their homes again, so great had been the mortality from scurvy and other diseases.

The ocean highway to the rich lands of the East had now at last been traversed from end to end, and great was the satisfaction of King Manuel, his courtiers, and his people. It was indeed something to rejoice over, though at this distance of time the exploit of Da Gama does not seem much more meritorious than that of Dias.

The earlier navigator had uncertainty always before him, yet he traced fully two thousand six hundred kilometres of previously unknown coast, and he doubled the southern cape. From the river Infante to the Kilimane Da Gama sailed over nineteen hundred and thirty kilometres of unexplored sea, but he had more, larger, and better equipped ships. At the Kilimane he saw proofs that by keeping steadfastly on his course he must succeed in reaching his goal, so that from this point onward he could have been disturbed by no fear of finding some insurmountable physical barrier in his way. But it is only the final winner of a race who receives the prize, and so honours were heaped upon him, and his name was made to occupy a large and proud place in the history of Portugal, while Dias was left almost unnoticed and very inadequately rewarded. As a foretaste of favours to come, Da Gama had at once the title of Dom conferred upon him, with a small pension and the privilege of trading annually in Indian wares to a certain extent. In course of time other and greater rewards were bestowed upon him, until he was raised in rank to a level with the ancient nobles of the kingdom, but he never was satisfied, and always regarded himself as insufficiently compensated for the important service he had performed.

And now for the first time the meridional extent of Africa and its general form became known to Europeans, for the surmise of Ptolemy, which Edrisi accepted as correct, was proved to be without foundation. There were indeed maps in existence long prior to this time, one especially constructed in Italy in 1351, in which the continent is laid down with some approximation to correctness, and with an open sea on every side except where an isthmus connects it with Asia, but these maps were as much the result of guesswork as Ptolemy's itself, and had not a great name such as his to give them weight. They are not referred to by the early Portuguese

writers, and had no influence upon such men as Dias and Da Gama, who were probably entirely unacquainted with their existence. The area of the continent was not indeed accurately ascertained by Da Gama, as no means were then known of determining longitudes with any degree of precision, and for a long time yet to come it was supposed that the distance between its eastern and western shores was much less than we now know it to be, but the general trend of its coasts was a matter of perfect certainty. A geographical problem of the first importance was thus solved by the Portuguese, who, unlike the ancient Phœnicians, the modern Norsemen who visited the coast of Massachusetts, and the Genoese who found their way to the Canary islands, made their discoveries public for the advancement in knowledge of the civilised part of the world.

Wherever no authorities are mentioned in notes or in the text throughout this and the following chapters on the transactions of the Portuguese, reference can be made to the *Asia* of João de Barros or to the *Records of South-Eastern Africa*.

CHAPTER IV.

CONDITION OF THE SEABOARD OF EASTERN AFRICA AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

VASCO DA GAMA brought to Portugal an account of the coast of Eastern Africa, which made known not only its geographical features, but the condition to some extent of the people then living along it. This account was not of course either complete or absolutely correct in all its details, for full and accurate knowledge could only be acquired by an intercourse far closer than the time he had spent in his passages along it and in his visits to a few places had afforded him; still he had learned much, very much, that was previously unknown to Europeans. Later visitors were enabled to make more minute researches into the history, and to collect more precise information upon the mode of life of the different races of men that dwelt along the coast, but he knew and could tell of Asiatic settlements scattered thickly along the whole seaboard north of Cape Correntes, of the extensive trade carried on by them with India, and of a black population similar to that of the coast of Guinea divided into tribes politically independent of each other and in a condition of utter barbarism. He had ascertained also that the Asiatic settlements were all at variance, and therefore presented to an enterprising invader a field of easy conquest.

Succeeding visitors brought back more precise information, so that soon as much was known by the Portuguese concerning the East African coast as we are acquainted with to-day, if the exact geographical positions of the Asiatic settlements be excepted. Supplying this lack from observa-

tions made in later times, the condition of things in 1500 was as follows:—

The Asiatics who were found trading and occupying various stations along the coast were Arabs and Persians, and as they possessed a literature and preserved records of their original settlements and subsequent transactions, the Portuguese writers into whose hands these records came were able to give a very clear account, not only of their condition in the early years of the sixteenth century, but of their previous history and dealings with the Bantu inhabitants. That history was as follows:—

A certain man named Zaide, great-grandson of Ali, nephew and son-in-law of Mohamed, maintained religious opinions that were not in accordance with the koran as interpreted by the Arabian teachers, and was therefore banished from his home. With his adherents, who from him were termed the Emozaïdi, he passed over to the African coast, and formed some temporary settlements of no great importance along it. These people were of a roving disposition, and gradually moved southward, avoiding conflicts with the blacks but incorporating many of them, until in course of time they became hardly distinguishable from Africans except by the profession of a form of the Mohamedan creed and a somewhat higher way of living. The trading instinct of the Arabs led them, however, to carry on a petty commerce in gold and probably in other productions of the country. How far south the Emozaïdi eventually wandered cannot be ascertained with precision, but some of them appear to have reached the equator before the next stream of immigration set in.

This was from Central Arabia, and consisted of a number of families driven out by the oppression of a neighbouring sheik. In three vessels they crossed over to the African coast, and founded first the town of Magadosho, and subsequently that of Brava, both not far north of the equator. In time Magadosho became a place of importance, various subordinate settlements were made to the southward, and

its trade grew to large proportions. The Emozaidi, who were regarded as heretics by these later immigrants, would not submit to their authority, and were driven inland and forced into still closer connection than before with the blacks of Africa. They became the wandering traders of the interior, the people who collected the products of the country and conveyed them to the coast for sale.

A vessel belonging to Magadosho, having been driven from her course by a storm, put into the port of Sofala, where her crew learned that gold was to be obtained in trade. This led to a small settlement of Arabs at that place, and to a knowledge of the coast as far as Cape Correntes.

Rather more than seventy years elapsed after the founding of Magadosho and Brava when, towards the close of the fourth century of the Mohamedan era, or about fifty years before the Norman conquest of England, another band of strangers settled on the East African seaboard. A ruler of Shiraz in Persia died, leaving seven sons, one of whom, named Ali, was despised by his brothers on account of his mother having been an Abyssinian slave. He was a man of energy and ability, however, so to avoid insult and wrong he resolved to remove to some distant land. With his family and a few followers he embarked in two vessels at the island of Ormuz, and sailed to Magadosho. The Persians and the Arabs were alike followers of the creed of Mohamed, and professed to hold the koran as their guide, but they formed rival sects, and at that time regarded each other with great bitterness. Ali could not settle at or near Magadosho therefore, so he steered down the coast in search of a place where he could build a town of his own, free of the control of everyone else.

Such a place he found at Kilwa, the Quiloa of the Portuguese. The island was occupied by blacks, but they were willing to sell their right to it, which Ali purchased for a quantity of cloth, when they removed to the mainland. He then formed a settlement, and constructed fortifications sufficiently strong for defence against the African blacks

and the Arabs higher up the coast who were unfriendly towards him. Whether the island had a name before is not known: he called it Kilwa. Admirably situated for commerce, the settlement attracted immigrants and grew rapidly, so that even in Ali's lifetime it was able to send out a colony to occupy the island of Mafia not far to the northward. Successively different settlements were formed or those founded by the Arabs were conquered, until in course of time Kilwa, notwithstanding various civil wars, became not only the most important commercial station, but the ruling town on the East African coast.

At first the houses were built of wood and clay, but these were afterwards replaced by others of stone and mortar, with flat roofs or terraces which could be used for the same purposes as stoeps in South Africa in our day. The streets between the rows of houses were very narrow, mere alleys in fact, but in the outskirts were large gardens planted with various kinds of vegetables, in which grew also palms and different trees of the orange species. In front of the town, close to the harbour, was the residence of the ruler, which was built to serve also as a fortress, and was ornamented with towers and turrets. The mosques were adorned with minarets, so that, as looked upon from the sea, Kilwa presented the appearance of a beautiful and stately eastern town.

About the year 1330 of our era it was visited by a learned Mohamedan named Abu Abdallah Mohamed Ibn Abdallah el Lawāti, a native of Tanjier, usually known as Ibn Batuta. This great traveller left his home in the year of the hegira 724, and did not return until 754, having visited in that time Egypt, the Soudan, Syria, Arabia, the East African coast, Persia, Hindostan, Java, Sumatra, China, and other countries, of which he wrote an account. Makdashu, or Magadosho as now termed by Europeans, he describes as a large city. From it he proceeded down the coast to Mombasa, and thence to Kilwa, whose ruler when he was there was Abu el Mozaffir Hasan. According to the *Chronicle*

of the Rulers of Kilwa, the sultan at this time, the nineteenth in succession from Ali, was named Hacen, who is described therein as a very gallant man. Ibn Batuta relates that he gained great victories over the infidel Zendj, or Bantu, so that the one account corroborates the other. He speaks of the abundance of ivory, and mentions gold, but only to say that the people of Kilwa did not give much of it in charity. The houses were still built mainly of wood.*

There were now three distinct communities of Asiatic origin on the East African coast: the Emozaidi, deemed by both the others to be heretics, the orthodox Arabs, holding one form of the Mohamedan faith, and the Persians, holding another. They were all at variance, and strife between them was constant. This is the key to their easy conquest by the Portuguese in later times. They termed the Bantu inhabitants of the mainland Kaffirs, that is infidels, an epithet adopted by modern Europeans and still in use. None of them, however, scrupled to take women of that race into their harems, and thus at all their settlements the number of mixed breeds was large. At the commencement of the sixteenth century the majority of those who called themselves Arabs, including the descendants of the Persian immigrants, were undistinguishable in colour and features from the ordinary Bantu. It followed that while those in whom the Asiatic blood was predominant were strict Mohamedans, the others were almost indifferent in matters concerning that religion.

Sofala was wrested from Magadosho by the people of Kilwa in the time of Soleiman, ninth successor of Ali, and with it a trade in ivory and gold was secured which greatly enriched the conquerors and enabled them to extend their power. In the zenith of its prosperity Kilwa was mistress

* See the French translation published in Paris in four volumes, 1853-58; also *The Travels of Ibn Batuta*, translated from the abridged Arabic manuscript copies preserved in the public library of Cambridge by the Rev. Samuel Lee, B.D., Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. A quarto volume of 243 pages, published at London in 1829.

of Melinde and Sofala on the mainland, the islands of Mombasa, Pemba, Zanzibar, Mafia, Comoro, Mozambique, and many others of less note, various stations on the coast of Madagascar, and numerous small trading posts along the African shore as far south as Cape Correntes, beyond which no vessel in those times ever passed. But owing to internal strife and perpetual feuds among the different communities, all of these places except Mozambique were lost before the beginning of the sixteenth century, and each of the others had become a petty but sovereign state.

The forty-third ruler of Kilwa after Ali was named Abraham,* and it was he who held the government when the Portuguese arrived on the coast. He did not rule, however, by right of descent, but had seized the supreme authority under pretence of keeping it in trust for an absent heir. On this account he was conceded no higher title than that of Emir. When he thus usurped the administration of Kilwa a man named Isuf† was governor of Sofala, having received that appointment many years before. This Isuf was held in high esteem for ability and valour, and as he did not choose to acknowledge Emir Abraham as a superior, he made himself independent and opened his port to the trade of Melinde and other towns on the coast.

The Asiatic communities on the African seaboard existed almost entirely by commerce. Except at Pemba, Zanzibar, and one or two other places they did not carry on agriculture to any large extent, though they introduced various fruit-trees and the cultivation of rice and probably a few foreign vegetables among the Bantu. The small islands were not adapted for the growth of grain, and the supplies of food needed by the inhabitants of such towns as Kilwa and Mombasa could be obtained without difficulty in exchange for such wares as they had to barter. One product of the ground, however, they paid particular attention to. That

* Habrahemo according to Barros, Abraemo according to De Goes.

† Yçuf according to Barros, Çufe according to Castanheda and De Goes.

was the cocoa-palm, without which they could not have existed as they did. From its fruit they obtained not only an agreeable article of diet, but a fibre of the greatest utility; from its leaves material for mats and thatching; and from its trunk timber for the habitations of the poorer classes, masts and spars for their vessels, and wood for a great variety of other purposes. There was no part of this valuable tree of which some use could not be made.

They built vessels adapted for the navigation of the upper part of the Indian sea, where the monsoons blow regularly at different periods of the year from the east and from the west, though in them they could not venture on such stormy waters as those south of Cape Correntes. In these vessels no iron was used, the planks being fastened to the timbers with wooden treenails, and all the parts sewed or bound together with cord of coir. As they did not use saws, the planks were formed by splitting the trunks of trees down the centre, and then trimming each block with an axe, a tedious and clumsy process, in which much timber was lost. The sails were of close and strong matting, and the standing and running gear alike was made of coir. The largest of these vessels—now called dhows—were used for crossing over to the coasts of Arabia, Persia, and Hindostan; those next in size—which were called pangayos by the first Europeans who saw them—for the most important part of the home trade; and the smallest—termed zambucos and luzios—for communicating between the settlements, conveying cargoes up and down the mouths of the Zambesi, and other purposes where heavy tonnage was not needed. The zambucos and luzios, indeed, were nothing more than large boats, half decked, and commonly provided with awnings. In shallow places, as in rivers, they were propelled with poles.

The pilots, called malemos, who conducted the vessels to foreign ports, were remarkably expert. Steering across to the coast of Hindostan, for instance, they seldom failed to make the land within a very short distance of the place they were bound to. They determined the latitude by

means of measuring the angular altitude of certain stars when on the meridian, for which purpose they used an instrument which they regarded as superior to that by which the first Portuguese navigators in those seas found their way. Of any other method of determining longitudes than by dead reckoning, however, they were as ignorant as all the rest of the world at that time.

The commerce carried on by these people with distant lands was indeed small when compared with that which passed from India either up the Persian gulf and thence by caravans to the shore of the Mediterranean, or up the Red sea, then overland to Cairo, and down the Nile to Alexandria, where the produce of the East was obtained by the Venetians to be distributed over Europe; but for Africa it was considerable, and it was not subject to much fluctuation.

From India they obtained silks, spices, and other articles of luxury for the use of their own people of pure or nearly pure Asiatic blood, and cotton cloth and beads for trade with the Bantu; from Arabia and Persia rich fabrics, dates, scimitars, large sheathed daggers, and various other kinds of merchandise. Every man, no matter how black, who claimed to be a Mohamedan, wore at least a turban and a loin cloth, and carried a weapon of some kind on his person. The men of rank and wealth, who were of lighter colour, dressed in gorgeous robes of velvet, silk, or cotton, had sandals on their feet, and at their sides ornamented scimitars of finely tempered steel. The women naturally were clothed more or less richly according to the position of their parents and husbands, and they were particularly fond of trinkets. Every article of dress or adornment, all glassware, the best of the furniture of every description, the choicest weapons, and various luxuries of diet were imported from abroad.

With pieces of calico to be used as loin-cloths, beads, and ornaments of trifling value, the traders went among the Bantu on the mainland. Ingratiating themselves with the chiefs by means of presents, they induced those despots to

send out men, here to hunt elephants, there to wash the soil for gold, and so forth. Time was to them of less importance than to Europeans, and their mode of living was so nearly like that of the pure Africans that they could reside or travel about without discomfort where white men could hardly have existed. Thus the trade that they carried on was much greater in quantity than that of their Portuguese successors, though its exact amount cannot be ascertained. Upon their wares they obtained enormous profits. They received in exchange gold, ivory, pearls from the oyster beds at the Bazaruta islands, strips of hippopotamus hide, skins of carnivora, tortoise shells, gum, and ambergris washed up on the coast, with which they carried on their foreign commerce; and millet, rice, cattle, poultry, and honey, which they needed for home consumption.

Commerce was open to any one who chose to engage in it, but practically was confined to the pure Asiatics, who employed the mixed breeds as their agents in conducting the inland barter, working the vessels, and performing the rough labour of every kind. The governments, Arab, Persian, and Bantu alike, derived a revenue from the trade that to-day seems extortionate. When an elephant was killed, the tusk next the ground belonged to the chief, and when the upper one was sold he took about half the proceeds. On all other articles disposed of by his subjects, his share was about the same proportion, besides which the traders on the other side were obliged to make him large presents before commencing to barter. When Mombasa after the independence of Isuf was able to trade with Sofala, an export duty of rather over fifty per cent was levied on the merchandise for the benefit of the government of that town. At Kilwa any one desiring to trade with Sofala was obliged to pay about seventy per cent of the value of the goods before leaving the port, and on arrival at his destination one-seventh of what was left. Upon his return he paid a duty of five per cent of the gold he had acquired. The duty on ivory brought to Kilwa was very heavy, so that in fact

the government obtained a large proportion of the profits on commerce.

On the islands the governments of the Asiatics were not only independent, but all other authority was excluded, and on some of them fortifications were erected, as well as mosques and houses of stone. But on the mainland south of Kilwa, it was different. Here the mixed breeds were permitted by Bantu chiefs to reside for purposes of trade, but they were by no means lords of the country. The sheiks ruled their own people, but no others, like Bantu clans which are often found intermingled, whose idea of government is tribal rather than territorial. They were obliged to make the Bantu rulers large presents every year for the privilege of living and trading in the country, which presents may be regarded rather as rent for the ground and license fees than as tribute. Under these circumstances they did not construct any buildings of stone.

The pure Asiatic settlers on the African coast were grave and dignified, though courteous in demeanour. They were as hospitable as any people in the world, but they were attached to their ancestral customs, and keenly resented anything like an affront. They were enterprising, though so conservative in their ideas that they were incapable of making what Europeans would term rapid progress in civilisation. As superstitious as their Bantu neighbours, they especially regarded dreams as figuratively foreshowing events, and he was regarded as wise who pretended to be able to interpret them. The tombs of men celebrated for piety were places of ordinary pilgrimage, but every one endeavoured when in the prime of life to visit the city of Mecca in Arabia, thereby to obtain the highly honoured title of hadji.

The mixed breeds, who formed the great bulk of the nominally Mohamedan population, had all the superstitions of both the races from which they were descended. They would not venture to sea on a coasting voyage if one among them had an adverse dream, or without making an offering,

if only of a shred of calico or a piece of coir cord, at the tomb of some holy man. They believed that the winds could be charmed to rise or fall, that the pangayos were subject to bewitchment, that even the creatures of the sea could be laid under spells. They lived in short in the atmosphere of the *Arabian Nights*, darkened by the gloom of Bantu fear of malignant sorcery.

Coming down the eastern coast of Africa in the year 1500, the principal Mohamedan settlements and trading stations were in geographical order as follows:—

Magadosho,* in latitude $2^{\circ} 2'$ north of the equator. The town was on the coast of the mainland, partly built upon an eminence rising to a height of about 12·19 metres above a sandy plain. It contained several mosques and many stone houses with flat roofs. In front, at no great distance from the shore and parallel with it, was a coral reef seven or eight kilometres in length, which protected the channel within from the fury of the sea. At low spring tides the water in the channel was only two fathoms in depth, but that was sufficient for the dhows used in the Indian trade. There was no other port.

Brava, in latitude $1^{\circ} 7'$ north, was also built on the coast of the mainland. It stood on an eminence about thirty metres above the beach, and was enclosed with a wall. The town was well built, and was governed as an aristocratic republic, the only one of the kind on the coast. The port somewhat resembled that of Magadosho, being a channel along the shore partly protected by islets and reefs, but was more exposed to heavy rollers from the sea.

Melinde,† in latitude $3^{\circ} 15'$ south of the equator, situated on the coast of the mainland, was also a well-built town. Adjoining it was an extensive and fertile plain, covered with beautiful gardens and groves, in which flourished fruit trees of various kinds, principally orange and lemon. To

* Various spelt in books and on charts at present as well as in olden times Magadoxo, Magadaxo, Magadosho, Mogdishu, and Mukdeesha.

† Various spelt Melinde, Melinda, Maleenda, and Malindi.

gain this advantage the town was built some distance from the nearest anchorage, which itself was far from safe, being a roadstead protected to some extent by a reef, but made dangerous by numerous shoals. It possessed, however, in a narrow rocky peninsula extending into the sea an excellent natural pier for landing cargo from boats.

Mombasa, on a coral island about five kilometres long by three broad, was situated in the estuary of the Barretté river, in latitude $4^{\circ} 4'$ south. The island was like a huge fortress, standing from twelve to eighteen metres out of the water and presenting steep cliffs of madrepora on the seaward side. It possessed one of the best natural harbours in the world, easily accessible at all times. On each side the passage between the island and the banks of the estuary was broad and deep, though winding, and when in them or in the fine sheet of water to which they led a vessel was perfectly sheltered. This sheet of water could only be reached by large vessels through the northern strait, because a submerged reef stretched across the inner end of the other, and at low tide formed a ford to the mainland. The town was built along the steep shore of the northern passage, not far from the sea, and was next to Kilwa the most celebrated on the coast. The houses were of stone, so well constructed that the first Europeans who saw them compared them favourably with residences in Spain. Mombasa, owing to its excellent site and to the prevalence of sea breezes, was less troubled with fever than any other settlement on that part of the coast.

Pemba, a coral island, rising in the highest part to ninety-two metres above the level of the sea, was sixty-one kilometres in extreme length by twenty-one in width. It was about twenty-nine kilometres from the mainland, with a clear passage for ships inside, though coral reefs abounded near the shore. The island was fertile, and produced large quantities of provisions, particularly rice, for exportation. The principal Arab settlement on it was in latitude $5^{\circ} 25'$ south.

Zanzibar, not far south of Pemba, was an island similar in every respect, though larger, being seventy-six kilometres in extreme length by thirty-two in breadth. It rose to a height of one hundred and thirty-four metres above the level of the sea. The principal Arab town, from which the island took its name, was on the western side, in latitude $6^{\circ} 3'$ south. The anchorage in front of it was good and capacious, and there were many secure harbours among the islets and reefs in the channel between it and the mainland. Here were built the greater number of the vessels used in the Indian and the coasting trade, and from the island considerable quantities of provisions were exported.

Mafia,* a coral island rising abruptly from a great depth of water, lay about fourteen kilometres from the mainland. This island was about forty-three kilometres in length by fourteen in extreme breadth, between $7^{\circ} 38'$ and 8° south latitude. It was of much less importance than either Zanzibar or Pemba.

Kilwa, a low coral island, rather over six kilometres in length by three in breadth, rising on the northern side to fourteen metres above the sea level, was set like an arrow in a drawn bow in the estuary of the Mavudyi river. It lay in latitude $8^{\circ} 57'$ south. With the sea in front, a strait on each side, and a sheet of water extending sixteen or twenty kilometres beyond its inner extremity, it was a very strong position. As at Mombasa, the southern strait was crossed at its far end by a reef, along which access to the mainland could be had at low water. This strait was interspersed with islets, and made a capacious harbour, admirably adapted for shipping, but that on the northern side of the island was difficult to navigate on account of its containing numerous reefs and sand banks.

Passing south of Cape Delgado, in latitude $10^{\circ} 40'$, a chain of coral islets and reefs parallel to the coast at a distance of thirteen to twenty-one kilometres, and extending one hundred and eighty-eight kilometres along it, was to be seen.

* Written also Monfia and Monfeea.

The principal islet was termed Kerimba, or Querimba, and from it the whole group was named. Next in importance was Ibo. Most of the others were uninhabited, being mere rocks rising from the sea. Along the strait within were numerous harbours for ships.

The northern extremity of the Mozambique channel has now been reached, and halfway across it lay the Comoro islands, all of volcanic origin. The principal of these were named Comoro, Johanna, Mohilla, and Mayotta, but there were many smaller in size. These islands were also possessed by the Arabs, who made use of them as convenient stopping places on their way to the great Island of the Moon, which we term Madagascar.

Keeping down the African coast, an inlet about nine kilometres across and ten in depth was reached, in latitude 15° south. Into its inner end ran three streamlets, but of inconsiderable size. Lying across the centre of the mouth of the inlet, within a line joining its two outer points, was a low coral island, about two kilometres and a half in length and three hundred and sixty-six metres in breadth, named Mozambique. About five kilometres farther out in the sea were two others, similar in formation, then uninhabited, one of which is now called Saint George and the other Saint Jago. Behind Mozambique was a spacious harbour, easily accessible and perfectly sheltered. At long intervals indeed a furious cyclone would sweep over it and cause great destruction, but the same could be said of any part of that coast and sea. Such a position as the island of Mozambique could not escape the observation of the Mohamedans, though it had not the advantages of Kilwa or Mombasa. The island itself produced nothing, not even drinking water. On the northern shore of the inlet, since termed Cabaceira, the ground was fertile, but it was exposed to irruptions of the Bantu inhabitants, who were generally hostile. So Mozambique never rose to be more than a dependency of Kilwa, a mere halfway station for vessels bound up or down the coast. Its Mohamedan occupants had their gardens and cocoa nut

groves on the mainland, but could not always depend upon gathering their produce.

The Angosha * islands lay off the mouth of the Angosha river, between latitude 16° and $16^{\circ} 40'$ south. The river was five kilometres wide at the bar, and could be ascended by boats nearly two hundred and forty kilometres, which circumstance gave to the six coral islets off its entrance a value they would not have had in another position. There was a good roadstead between the bar of the river and the island Mafamede, which was a mere crown of sand on a coral reef above sea level.

The Primeiras islands were nothing more than a row of coral hummocks extending northward from latitude $17^{\circ} 18'$ in a line parallel with the coast. In the channel between them and the mainland there were places where a pangayo could find shelter to refit, or during the prevalence of contrary winds.

At Mozambique the direction of the coast line had changed from nearly north and south to north-east and south-west, and the aspect of the land had altered also. Thence to Cape Correntes as far as the eye could reach nothing was visible but a low flat tract, bordered along the sea by sand hills from fifteen to one hundred and eighty metres high, with here and there a dark-coloured rock. In latitude 18° south the mouth of the Kilimane, or Quilimane, river was reached. This was the northernmost of the several outlets of the great river Zambesi, which therefore bounded the delta on that side. The other large outlets were the Luabo and the Kuama, but there were many smaller ones, a distance of a hundred and sixty kilometres separating the extreme southern from the extreme northern mouth, while the inland extremity of the delta, where the river began to fork, was over eighty kilometres in a straight line from the sea. In later years this whole tract of land and water was termed by the Portuguese the Rivers of Kuama, the largest of the islands in the delta bearing that name.

* Spelt also Angoxa, Angozha, and Angoche.

If an accurate survey of the delta and its streams had been made in any one year, in the next it would have been imperfect, and in a decade misleading, for two causes were constantly operating to alter the features of land and water. In the rainy season the Zambesi, which stretched nearly across the continent, poured down a flood bearing sand, soil, and gravel, which spread over great areas, blocked up old channels, tore away huge fragments of islands, and opened new passages in every direction. When the flood subsided, former landmarks were gone, and where vessels had sailed the year before sand flats alone were seen. The Kilimane arm in the year 1500 was the best entrance into the Zambesi during six months of the year, in 1900 its upper course is much higher than the bed of the great river farther inland, of which it is no longer regarded as an outlet. The other cause of change was the mangrove. This tree, with its gloomy dark-green foliage, grew only on the confines of land and water, where it spread out its roots like gigantic snakes, intertwining and retaining in their folds the ooze and slime that would otherwise have been borne away. Sand was blown up by the wind or deposited when the currents were gentle, vegetable mould accumulated, the inner line of the swamp became soil on which grass and herbs could grow, and the mangrove spread farther out to reclaim ever more and more land from the shallow water. So the floods washed away and reformed, and the mangrove bound together and extended, in the ever varying scene.

How far up the Zambesi the Mohamedans were accustomed to go cannot be ascertained with precision. They had a small settlement on its southern bank where the Portuguese village of Sena now stands, about two hundred and twenty-five kilometres from the sea, but it is doubtful whether they had any fixed post farther inland, though travelling traders probably penetrated the country to a great distance. About three hundred and seventy-eight kilometres from the sea the great river passed through the Lupata gorge, a narrow cleft

in the range that separates the interior plain from the coast belt, where the rapids were so strong that they may not have cared to go beyond them with their boats, though the Portuguese afterwards navigated the stream up to the Kebrabasa rapids, about thirty-two kilometres above Tete, or five hundred and twelve kilometres from the sea.

At the mouth of the Pungwe river, where Beira now stands, there was a very small Mohamedan trading settlement, perhaps not a permanent one, and only at best an outpost of Sofala.

Sofala, the most important station south of Kilwa, was in latitude $20^{\circ} 10'$. It was at the mouth of an estuary not quite three kilometres wide from the northern bank to an island named Inyansata, between which and the southern bank there was only a narrow and shallow stream when the tide was low. Across the entrance of the estuary was a shifting bar of sand, which prevented large vessels from crossing, and inside there were so many shoals that navigation was at all times dangerous. The land to a great distance was low and swampy, and the banks of the estuary were fringed with belts of mangrove, so that the place was a hotbed of fever and dysentery. Farther in the interior the stream was of no great size, but it was always bringing down material to add to the deposits of sand and mud above the bar. The sole redeeming feature was a high rise of tide, often nearly six metres at full moon, so that when the wind was fair it was accessible for any vessels then used in the Indian trade. Along the coast was a great shoal or bank like a submerged terrace, extending far into the sea, upon which the waves ran so high at times and the currents were so strong that the locality was greatly dreaded by the mariners of olden days. But all these drawbacks were disregarded in view of the fact that gold was to be obtained here in exchange for merchandise of little value.

At Sofala there were two villages: one close to the sea, on a sand flat forming the north-eastern point, contained about four hundred inhabitants; the other, about three

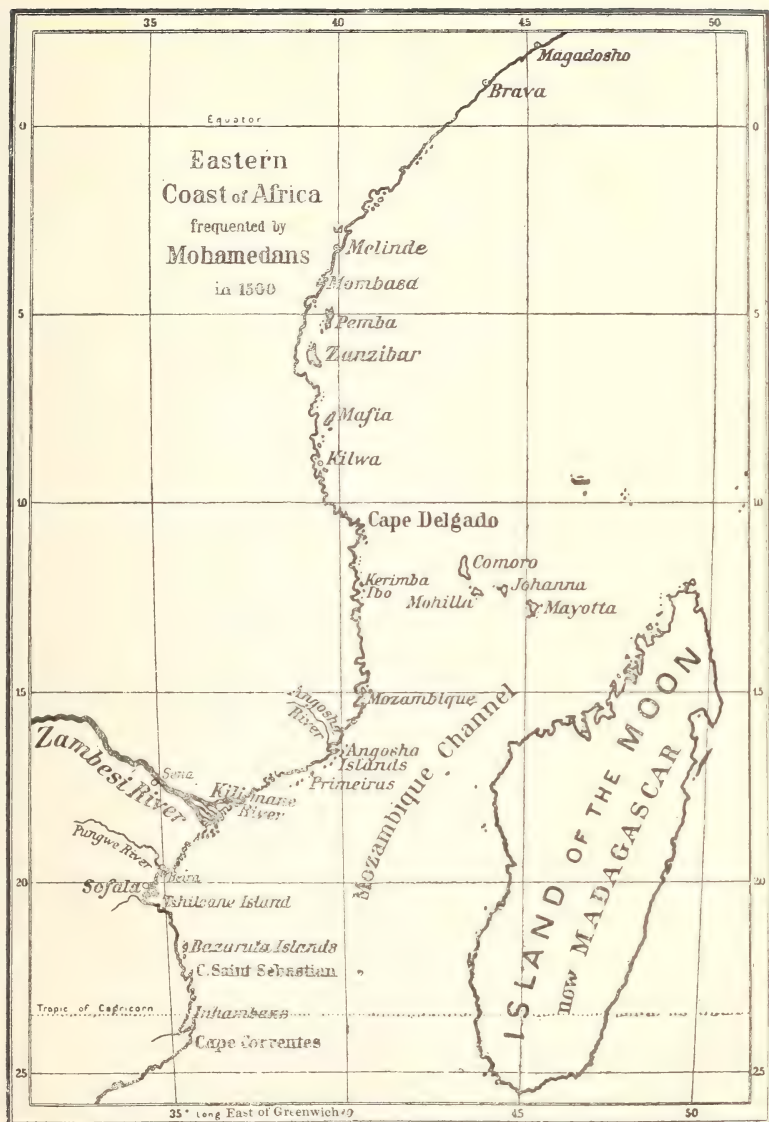
kilometres higher up the bank of the estuary, also contained about four hundred residents. The sheik lived in the last named. His dwelling house was constructed of poles planted in the ground, between which wattles were woven and then plastered with clay. It was thatched, and contained several apartments, one of considerable size which could be used as a hall of state. The floor, like that of Bantu huts, was made of antheaps moistened and stamped. It was covered with mats, and the room occupied by the sheik was hung with silk, but was poorly furnished according to modern European ideas. This was the grandest dwelling house in Africa south of the Zambesi, indeed the only one of its size and form, in the first year of the sixteenth century.

The island of Tshiloane* lay partly in the mouth of the Ingomiamo river, in latitude $20^{\circ} 37'$ south. The island was about nine kilometres and a half long by five wide, but a great part of it was a mangrove swamp. The channel into the Ingomiamo on the northern side of the island, now called Port Singune, was used as a harbour by an occasional pangayo or zambuco that put in to trade.

The Bazaruta islands were of much greater importance, for there were the pearl-oyster beds which yielded gems as much coveted by the Arabs and Persians as by the people of Europe and India. There were five islands in this group, stretching over forty-eight kilometres along the coast northward from the cape now called Saint Sebastian, which is in latitude $22^{\circ} 5'$ south. The principal island, from which the group takes its name, is twenty-nine kilometres in length.

The last place to the southward frequented by the Mohamedans was the river Nyambana, or Inhambane, the mouth of which is in latitude $23^{\circ} 45'$ south. They had a small settlement where the Portuguese village now stands, twenty-two kilometres by the channel, though only thirteen in a direct line, above the bar. The river was easy of

* Various spelt Chiluan, Chilwan, Chuluwan, Kiloane, &c.



access, and formed an excellent harbour. It was navigable for boats about eight kilometres or five English miles farther up than the settlement, which formed a good centre for collecting ivory, an article always in demand in India. This place was reputed to be the healthiest on the whole coast.

Beyond Cape Correntes, in latitude $24^{\circ} 4'$ south, the Arabs and Persians did not venture in their coir-sewn vessels. Here the Mozambique current, from which the cape has its present name, ran southward with great velocity, usually from two to five kilometres an hour, according to the force and direction of the wind, but often much faster. In such a current a dhow, unless the wind was from the south, would be perfectly helpless, and would be carried onward to an indefinite distance, as according to legends universally credited some had been in the distant past. The cape had the reputation also of being a place of storms, where the regular monsoons of the north could no longer be depended upon, and where violent gusts from every quarter would almost surely destroy the mariners who should be so foolhardy as to brave them. The vivid Arab imagination further pictured danger of another kind, for this was the chosen home of those mermaids—believed in also by the Greeks of old—who lured unfortunate men to their doom. So Cape Correntes, with its real and fictitious perils, was the terminus of Mohamedan enterprise to the south, though there were men in Kilwa who sometimes wondered what was beyond it and half made up their minds to go over land and try to ascertain.

Had they done so, they would not have found much to repay them for their trouble. With the recent Bantu settlers a little farther south they might have carried on trade, but it could only have been to a limited extent, for those people were as yet inconsiderable in number, and, with the exception of a little copper and a few tusks of ivory, had nothing that was marketable

to dispose of. Had they inspected the land beyond Delagoa Bay they would have seen much to charm their eyes, but nothing they could make use of. They would have admired the noble trees in all the kloofs at no great distance from the shore, and would have regretted that such valuable timber was not near their homes in the north, where it could be made to serve many purposes. Where it was there was no one to do as much as fell a tree, for the savages who roamed over the land had not even skill enough for that. They would have seen the grandest hunting grounds in all the world, covered with great herds of tusk-bearing elephants, vast numbers of antelopes of every species from the eland larger than an ox to the tiny oribi, with lions stalking among them, hyenas, jackals, many varieties of cats, all with beautiful fur such as would have charmed an Arab or a Persian at home, rhinoceroses, zebras, quaggas, and dozens of other animals great and small. Even the rivers and lagoons they would have found teeming with seacows, strips of whose hides always commanded a high price wherever horses were ridden.

But all this wealth of ivory and peltry and whips would be useless to the Mohamedan visitor from Kilwa, for he was not a hunter and had no taste to become one. He was a trader, and the Bushmen, who were the only human inhabitants of the game lands, though they lived by the chase, never rose to the conception of selling or bartering away any of the spoils. It was only in later years, when Bantu immigrants from the distant north-west occupied the land, that trade became possible. The Mohamedan was like the European in this respect, that he left such work as he did not like to do himself to the darker coloured men to do for him. And such work with both was carrying timber and ivory and skins, but beyond that they differed, for the European had a passion for slaughtering animals, and the Mohamedan had not.

CHAPTER V.

SUCCEEDING VOYAGES AND CONQUESTS OF THE PORTUGUESE.

THE condition of affairs on the shores of the Indian sea, as reported by Vasco da Gama, was such that it was evident a display of force would be necessary to carry on trade, as the Mohamedans were nearly everywhere hostile. The whole kingdom of Portugal, however, was as resolute as the monarch himself in the determination to secure the eastern commerce, so that no difficulty was experienced in getting together what was believed in those days to be a very strong armament. And indeed, though a modern gunboat could in less than half an hour send to the bottom the whole of the fleet that King Manuel despatched on this occasion, the Mohamedans on the Indian ocean—even if they could have combined—had nothing fit to oppose it. The approximate time at which the different monsoons set in was now known, and to take advantage of them it was necessary that ships should leave Lisbon in February or March. Preparations were therefore made with all possible haste, and in the first week of March 1500 thirteen ships of different sizes, fitted out in the best manner, lay at anchor at Rastello ready for sea. Twelve hundred picked men, between soldiers and sailors, were on board, and an able officer, Pedro Alvares Cabral by name, was in chief command, with another named Sancho de Toar as next in authority.

The instructions of the king were that where they came peace and friendship were to be offered to the inhabitants on condition of their accepting the Christian faith and

engaging in commerce, but if these terms were refused, relentless war was to be made upon them. Eight friars of the order of St. Francis were sent in the fleet to make the tenets of the Christian religion known, in addition to whom there were eight chaplains in the ships, and a vicar for a fortress which was intended to be built and garrisoned at Calicut. The reports that Da Gama had received of the gold trade of Sofala had caused a belief of its great value, and therefore a factory was to be established at that place, of which Bartholomeu Dias was sent out in command of one of the ships to take charge.

On Sunday the 8th of March the officers and principal people of the fleet attended divine worship in the hermitage of our Lady of Bethlehem, when the king delivered a banner to Cabral, and upon the conclusion of the service a procession was formed to conduct them to the river side, where they embarked. On the following morning sail was set, and the Tagus was left behind. Of those who had been with Da Gama, Nicolau Coelho, who commanded a ship, and João de Sá are the only ones known to have sailed with Cabral.

On the passage to the Cape Verde islands a storm was encountered, in which one of the ships got separated from the others, and therefore returned to Lisbon. Keeping far to the westward to avoid the calms usually met with on the coast of Guinea, on the 24th of April to his great surprise Cabral discovered a country unknown before, the mainland of South America. There, at a harbour on the coast of Brazil, he took in water and set ashore two convicts. Having despatched one of his vessels to Portugal with tidings of the discovery, on the 3rd of May he sailed again. On the 24th of this month a violent tornado was encountered, which was preceded by a calm, and the wind suddenly struck the ships with terrific force. It at once became dark as night, the raging of the tempest drowned all other sounds, and the sea rose in such tremendous billows that the sailors regarded themselves as lost. When

the tornado ceased four vessels had disappeared, never to be seen again. One was that of which Bartholomeu Dias was captain, and thus the discoverer of the Cape of Good Hope found a grave in the Atlantic.

The remaining seven vessels were scattered in the storm. One, which was commanded by Pedro Dias, a brother of Bartholomeu, got as far as Magadosho, but had by that time lost so many of her crew that she put about, and returned to Lisbon, which port she reached with only six men on board. By the 16th of July the other six were together again beyond the shoals of Sofala, but had received so much damage in the tornado and in almost constant stormy weather that followed it as to be more like wrecks than sea-going ships.

Here two zambucos were seen, and one was captured, the other escaping to the shore. The prisoners stated that they had been trading at Sofala for gold, and were on their return passage to Melinde, their captain being the sheik Foteima, uncle of the ruler of that town. Upon hearing this, Cabral immediately liberated them, and restored the zambuco to the old sheik, whom he treated with the greatest courtesy on account of the alliance with the place to which he belonged. Then continuing his course, on the 20th of July he cast anchor in the harbour of Mozambique. The people of that island, remembering what had been done by a fleet only half as strong as the one now in their waters, professed the most sincere friendship, and did what they could to assist the Portuguese. Here Cabral refitted his ships, and then, having obtained a good pilot, sailed for Kilwa.

Upon his arrival at this port he sent a message to Emir Abraham by Affonso Furtado that he had letters for him from the king of Portugal, and as he was forbidden by his instructions to go on shore he desired that a place and time of meeting should be arranged. A tone of superiority was thus assumed from the first, which must have been exceedingly irritating to a man who had been accustomed to be

treated ~~as~~ an independent sovereign. Probably had he known ~~the~~ position of the messenger he would have felt doubly indignant, for Affonso Furtado had been sent out as secretary of the factory which Bartholomeu Dias was to have established at Sofala, the most valuable of the ancient dependencies of Kilwa. There could not be a really friendly feeling towards the strangers, but the emir dissembled, expressed his pleasure at their arrival, and arranged to meet Cabral on the water. Some sheep and other provisions were sent as a present to the flagship, and a counter present was sent on shore.

With all the pomp and state that both parties could display the boats came alongside each other at the time fixed upon, the letter from the king of Portugal was delivered, and an apparently friendly conversation was held. But when Cabral requested the emir to adopt the Christian faith and to surrender part of his claim to the gold trade of Sofala, he evaded giving an immediate reply, and proposed that Affonso Furtado should be sent ashore again to conclude an agreement of peace and amity. With this understanding Cabral parted from him, but when Furtado landed on the following day he found preparations for defence being made on every side, and the tone of the emir was entirely changed. It was evident that rather than submit to the demands of the Portuguese he had resolved to resist them with arms, and as Cabral's force was so reduced that he did not wish to commence hostilities here, the fleet set sail again. From this time onward Abraham was regarded as an enemy, and was made to appear as a treacherous tyrant.

Cabral proceeded from Kilwa to Melinde, where he was received with real demonstrations of satisfaction, as the ruler of that place relied upon Portuguese support in his feud with Mombasa. In consequence every thing in his power was done to assist the fleet, and he professed himself the servant of King Manuel in such terms that even the most exacting of the European officers was satisfied. The envoy

that he had sent with Da Gama to Lisbon returned with Cabral, and a present of considerable value was delivered from the king. Two convicts, named João Machado and Luis de Moura, were set ashore well equipped for a journey into the interior, and were directed to endeavour to reach Prester John. On the 7th of August Cabral set sail for the Malabar coast, having with him two pilots of Guzerat engaged in Melinde.

After calling at Anjediva, where he remained several days, on the 13th of September he cast anchor at Calicut. The zamorin did not venture to object to his proposal to establish a trading factory, and for that purpose allotted him a number of houses along the shore. As commander of a powerful armed fleet with a defenceless town at his mercy, he could dictate what terms he pleased, and one of his terms was that until his ships were laden no pepper or cinnamon was to be supplied to the Arab vessels in the harbour.

As principal factor Aires Correa, the same man from whom a storeship to accompany Vasco da Gama's fleet had been purchased, now took up his residence on land, and with him were all the friars, a staff of secretaries and clerks, Gaspar da Gama as interpreter, and sixty armed men as protectors. Goods were landed, but the factory was not converted into a fort.

By the 16th of November only two of the ships had been laden with pepper, and Cabral suspected that it was being conveyed at night on board the Arab vessels, so he manned his boats and seized one of them, which was found to have nothing but provisions in her hold. Her crew, fearing death or at least ill treatment, sprang overboard and swam to the shore, where the populace, exasperated by the outrage, immediately rose in a body and attacked the Portuguese factory. A signal of danger was displayed, and the commotion was observed from the ships, so Cabral hastened to land with a large body of men, but was too late to do more than rescue five of

the friars, about twenty of the soldiers, and the interpreter Gaspar da Gama. Correa and all the others had been killed.

Cabral in revenge bombarded Calicut, and destroyed eight large and seven small Arab vessels in the harbour. He then sailed down the coast to Cochin, whose Hindu ruler was either really friendly or was afraid to appear hostile, and so gave him a good reception. Here a factory was established, with Gonçalo Gil Barbosa as its head. The ships were nearly fully laden with pepper when an invitation was received from the ruler of Cananor, a town on the coast farther north than Calicut, to purchase spice there. Cabral accordingly sailed from Cochin past Calicut to Cananor, where he completed the lading of his ships by taking in a quantity of ginger and cinnamon.

On the 16th of January 1501 he sailed from Cananor for Portugal, having with him ambassadors from the rulers of the two friendly towns to King Manuel.

On the passage the ship commanded by Sancho de Toar was wrecked on the coast near Melinde, and when her crew was rescued she was set on fire, as nothing could be saved from her. The ruler of Mombasa, however, afterwards recovered her guns, which he mounted on fortifications in his town. Cabral arrived thus at Mozambique with only five of the thirteen ships with which he sailed from Lisbon. Here he caused them to be cleaned and refitted, and then gave the smallest of them to Sancho de Toar with instructions to proceed to Sofala and make himself acquainted with the condition of that place. With the remaining four vessels he sailed from Mozambique, but one, under command of Pedro d'Ataide, was separated from him in a storm, and was obliged to put into the watering place of São Bras to refit. With three ships therefore Cabral doubled the Cape of Good Hope on the 22nd of May 1501, and reached Lisbon on the 31st of July.

Of the visit of Sancho de Toar to Sofala very little information is given by Portuguese writers who had access to the journal of the voyage, and the other early accounts are most conflicting. One of these is by a pilot in Cabral's fleet, who could only have acquired his knowledge from hearsay. It is to the following effect:—

De Toar found several Arab vessels at Sofala, from one of which he took an officer, whom he kept as a hostage for an Asiatic Christian sent ashore to make enquiries. After waiting two or three days without his messenger returning, he set sail for Portugal, and reached Lisbon the day after the captain-general. From information given by his captive, added to his own observations, De Toar learned that the Mohamedan settlement was not large, and that the gold was obtained from inhabitants of the interior in exchange for merchandise, but of the condition of the country and the details of the trade he remained in ignorance.

In the *Legends of India* Gaspar Correa gives what appears to be a much more complete account. But with respect to events previous to the government of Affonso d'Albuquerque this writer was a novelist rather than a historian, and though the first part of his work possesses great value as a reflection of his times, neither his statements nor his dates are to be relied upon. His account, condensed, is as follows:—

Sancho de Toar took with him from Mozambique an experienced pilot and a competent Arabic interpreter. He had also as passengers several Mohamedan traders, whom he received on board in order to learn their manner of conducting the gold barter. He crossed the bar of the river safely, and anchored before the lower village, when the traders proceeded to visit the sheik Isuf, each one taking a present with him. They informed the sheik who the stranger was and that he desired a conference, upon which Isuf at once consented, and sent a ring from his finger to Sancho de Toar as a pledge of safety. The

Portuguese captain then landed with ten attendants carrying a present of considerable value, and was received with much cordiality. His object, he stated, was to ascertain whether the sheik was willing to carry on trade with people of his nationality in the same manner as with others, and if vessels laden with merchandise might be sent for that purpose to his port. Isuf replied that he was very willing it should be so, provided the Portuguese kept good faith and acted as friends. He then made a counter present of gold for the captain-general and one for De Toar himself, and sent a quantity of provisions on board the vessel. All trade, it was observed, passed through the sheik. The merchants displayed their goods before him, and when approved of he delivered to them gold in payment to the amount of twelve or fifteen times the cost price. Having obtained complete information concerning the place and its commerce, Sancho de Toar set sail from Sofala, and reached Lisbon within a few hours after the arrival of the other ships of the fleet.

There was naturally a feeling of sorrow for the loss of life sustained in Cabral's voyage, but otherwise the monarch and his people were very well satisfied with what had been accomplished. The king considered himself justified now in adding to his other titles that of Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Trade of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India, which title was confirmed to him in 1502 by Pope Alexander VI.

Before the return of Cabral, on the 5th of March 1501 the third Indian fleet, consisting of four ships, sailed under command of João da Nova, principal magistrate of the city of Lisbon. At this time the eastern trade was not entirely monopolised by the government, and two of these ships were owned and fitted out by private individuals who had obtained licenses for that purpose from the king. On the passage out the island of Ascension—at first called Conception—was discovered, and on the

7th of July the fleet came to anchor at the watering place of São Bras.

Here in an old shoe fastened to a tree was found a letter written by Pedro d'Ataide, giving an account of Cabral's voyage to the time when he separated from that commander. From it Da Nova learned that the intended factory at Sofala had not been established on account of the loss at sea of Bartholomeu Dias and his ship, and that a fort had not been built at Calicut, where hostility had been encountered and the factor Aires Correa and a number of other Portuguese had been murdered, but that a factory had been established at Cochin and friendly relations secured with Cananor, which were peaceful and safe ports to enter. The latter part of this intelligence gave much satisfaction. On a knoll beyond the beach the chief captain caused a chapel, or hermitage as it was termed, to be built of stone, as a place for divine worship. It was dedicated to Saint Bras. This was the first Christian place of worship erected in South Africa, and though it was small and must have been very roughly constructed, the walls were so strong that more than seventy years later they were standing to the height of a metre or more.*

While this work was going on some cattle were obtained in barter from the Hottentots and the ships were supplied with water, and when it was completed the fleet sailed again. Da Nova touched at Mozambique, Kilwa, and Melinde, but nothing occurred at either of these places that needs mention.

Before he anchored at any port on the Indian coast he fell in with two Arab ships, one of which escaped, but the other was captured and pillaged, when sixty men on board were killed, and the prize was burned.

Cananor was the first Indian port visited. The ruler

* This is not mentioned by Barros or the other early historians, but see pages 54 and 315 of volume i of *Records of South-Eastern Africa*.

of that town offered to furnish cargoes for the ships, but Da Nova informed him that as there was a Portuguese factory at Cochin whatever had been purchased there must first be taken on board, after which the fleet would return to Cananor and complete its lading there. He left five Portuguese with a quantity of goods to sell during his absence, and after a very short stay sailed for Cochin. On the passage he encountered off Calicut a large fleet fitted out by the Mohamedans of that town purposely to try to drive the Portuguese from the Indian sea, but he gave battle to it, and sank five large ships and nine proas, killing, as was reported, four hundred and seventeen men. Probably, however, these numbers were magnified, for there was a strong tendency on the part of the Portuguese to exaggerate their exploits. In Da Nova's fleet at the time there were only three hundred and fifty men all told.

At Cochin he took on board all the cargo that had been obtained, and having left there six or seven men to strengthen the factory, sailed again for Cananor. On the passage he captured another vessel belonging to the Mohamedans of Calicut. At Cananor he received a message from the zamorin, expressing a strong desire for peace, deep regret for what had occurred, and willingness to make all the atonement in his power, though bringing to mind the fact that the trouble originated by the Portuguese seizing a vessel in his port. He asked to be allowed to send two ambassadors to Lisbon, for the purpose of concluding peace with King Manuel. Of this overture Da Nova took no notice whatever.

At Cananor he completed the lading of his ships, and then sailed for Portugal with extremely valuable cargoes. On the homeward passage he captured still another vessel belonging to Mohamedans, and in the Atlantic discovered and named the uninhabited island of Saint Helena, where he took in water. This was an important discovery, for

the island thereafter became a refreshing station for the fleets sailing to and particularly from India. On the 11th of September 1502 Da Nova cast anchor in the Tagus, after an exceedingly prosperous voyage, bringing all his ships back with him and all richly laden with the choicest products of the East.

A great advance was now made by King Manuel towards the establishment of his authority in the eastern seas by stationing a fleet of war there permanently. It consisted of five ships, and was placed under command of Vicente Sodré, who was a brother of Vasco da Gama's mother. His instructions were to protect the two factories at Cochin and Cananor, and in the summer months to guard the strait of Bab el Mandeb and prevent the entrance or egress of Arab and Egyptian vessels. So small a force at first sight seems altogether inadequate for the duty imposed upon it, but its insignificance vanishes on remembering that its opponents were not armed for battle. A Portuguese ship could discharge cannon at them, very clumsy indeed, but still capable of sinking them, and was herself perfectly safe if she could keep their boats from boarding her. Her crew were accustomed to war, and were full of religious zeal, believing that the Almighty was on their side in the contest with infidels. Deeds that to us look like piracy and murder were to them heroic and glorious acts, for they were living in an age of cruelty, when the meaning of the word mercy was almost unknown, and clemency to enemies of another creed was rarely practised. The Moslem trading vessels, running before the monsoon from the coast of India with rich cargoes, were regarded by them as prizes given into their hands by the Most High.

The enormous profit upon the eastern merchandise, notwithstanding the length of the voyages and the loss of so many ships and men, induced the king to send out in 1502 a larger number of vessels than had ever gone

before. The chief command was offered to Pedro Alvares Cabral, but he made so many objections to the nearly independent authority given to Vicente Sodré that the offer was withdrawn, and Dom Vasco da Gama, who had now the title of Admiral of the Eastern Seas conferred upon him, was selected for the post. On the 10th of February 1502 the fleet set sail from the Tagus. It consisted of the five ships commanded by Vicente Sodré, who was second in authority and next in succession in case of the death of the admiral, and ten others that were intended to return with cargoes. Still other five were being equipped, but were not then ready for sea, and did not sail until the 1st of April. They were commanded by Estevão da Gama, first cousin of the admiral, under whose orders he was to place himself upon his arrival in India.

Da Gama took in water at a port near Cape Verde, where he remained six days, and sailed again on the 7th of March. After encountering several storms in which some of his ships received much damage, he reached Cape Correntes with all except one commanded by Antonio do Campo, that was somewhere behind. Here he sent Vicente Sodré on to Mozambique with the ten largest vessels, and with the four smallest he steered for Sofala, in accordance with instructions from the king. He crossed the bar and anchored in front of the lower village, where he exchanged courtesies and presents with the sheik Isuf and confirmed the agreement of friendship with him, but did not obtain much gold in barter. Here he remained twenty-five days, making himself acquainted with the locality and the particulars of the interior trade. When leaving, one of his vessels struck on the bar and was lost, but her crew and cargo were saved.

Upon his arrival at Mozambique fifteen days after Vicente Sodré, he found a caravel that had been taken out in pieces on board the other ships nearly ready for sea. She was named the *Pomposa*, and had been designed

by the king to guard the coast between the island and Sofala and carry on a trade in gold, but after what he had seen the admiral resolved to take her to India. A gentleman named João Serrão was appointed to command her. Zakoeja was then dead, and a much more friendly or perhaps more timid governor filled his place, so everything went on smoothly at Mozambique, where Da Gama remained four days, and then set sail for Kilwa.

This port he reached on the 12th of July, and entered it amidst a roar of artillery, as he had resolved to reduce the emir Abraham to subjection owing to what had happened to Pedro Alvares Cabral. Upon his threatening to put the town to fire and sword if that potentate would not meet him, the emir with some attendants went off in zambucos, when Da Gama caused him to be seized and informed him that he must become a vassal of Portugal and pay a yearly tribute of two thousand maticals of gold, about £893 15s. English sterling money, or he would be detained as a prisoner and be taken to India. With this alternative before him, Abraham professed to be submissive, and an agreement was entered into in compliance with Da Gama's terms. A hostage was given to the admiral in the person of one Mohamed Ankoni, a man of rank in the town, and the emir was then permitted to return to land. But the tribute for the first year was not sent off as promised, so Mohamed Ankoni, knowing that Abraham would be rather pleased than otherwise with his detention or death, owing to jealousy and ill will entertained towards him, paid it himself to recover his freedom. The transaction does not seem very conclusive now, but Da Gama was satisfied with it, and Kilwa was thereafter considered a vassal state of Portugal.

Shortly after this the squadron under Estevão da Gama joined the admiral. It had been becalmed off Sofala, and lay at anchor outside the bar there from the 15th to

the 17th of July, but did not attempt to enter the river, though smoke signals to do so were made from the shore. From Kilwa the admiral proceeded towards Melinde, but could not reach that port owing to the currents, so anchored at a distance of about thirty-four English miles or fifty-five kilometres from it, and by means of a messenger exchanged greetings with its friendly ruler. Thence he sailed for India, and reached Anjediva safely with the entire fleet except the ship commanded by Antonio do Campo, that did not cross over until the next favourable monsoon.

At Anjediva Da Gama remained a few days to refresh his sick men, and then sailed for Cananor. On this passage a large ship, named the *Meri*, was fallen in with. She belonged to the mameluke ruler of Egypt, and had taken a cargo of spices and a number of pilgrims from Calicut to a port in the Red sea, and was then on the way back with a valuable lading, much money, and the returning pilgrims, including over fifty women and children. There were two hundred and sixty men on board. She was captured without resistance, but when her cargo was being removed the Mohamedans tried to recover her. The result was that Da Gama caused her to be set on fire, and of all on board only the pilot and some twenty children were taken off. These last were afterwards baptized and placed in a convent in Lisbon that they might be educated as Christians. All the others died by the sword or by fire.

At Cananor Da Gama was welcomed with much state and ceremony. Here he received overtures for peace and friendship from the zamorin, which were repeated again, even after he sailed southward, but to no effect. He would be satisfied with nothing but the absolute banishment of all Mohamedans from Calicut, which the zamorin declared to be impossible, as besides the foreign born Arabs, they numbered over four thousand families who were natives of the city.

Keeping down the coast, he anchored in front of Calicut, where he managed to seize thirty-two hapless men who were in boats, and hanged them. The next day he caused their heads, hands, and feet to be cut off and placed in a boat which was allowed to drift to land, with a contemptuous letter to the zamorin. He then bombarded the city, and caused great destruction to property and much loss of life. Leaving Calicut, he sailed to Cochin, and cast anchor there on the 7th of November.

While the ships were taking in cargo, Da Gama was gratified by the arrival of delegates from the Christians of Saint Thomas resident at Cranganor, who informed him that they were subject to persecution by the Mohamedans and Hindus, and asked him for protection. They were supposed to number over thirty thousand souls, and were presided over by bishops owing allegiance to the patriarch of Armenia. He promised them that Vicente Sodré, who was in command of a fleet of war in the Indian sea, would assist them if need arose, and that he would report the matter to the king upon his arrival in Portugal. He left Diogo Fernandes Correa at Cochin as factor, with two assistants and thirty men as a guard, in a wooden building that he caused to be constructed. On the 18th of January 1503 he sailed for Cananor.

At this place he completed the lading of his ships, and here he left Gonçalo Gil Barbosa as factor with two assistants and a guard of twenty men. He then sailed for Portugal, touching on the way only at Mozambique, where he took in water and refreshments.

On the 1st of September 1503* he reached Lisbon with nine ships, and was very well received by the king and the people. The ship commanded by Estevão da Gama, which had parted from the fleet in a storm, arrived some days later. The tribute from Kilwa, the

* Barros gives the date as the 10th of November, but this is almost certainly an error.

first from any state bordering on the Indian ocean, was received by the king with much gratification. It was presented to the monastery of Belem, to be devoted to the service of religion.

Vicente Sodré with the five ships of war sailed down the coast of Malabar, and captured several small vessels before he arrived at Cochin. There he concerted measures with the raja, and then sailed to the African coast. He took in water at Socotra, and for over two months cruised in the gulf of Aden, where he made many prizes. In May he sought a harbour to lay up in during the prevalence of the westerly winds, and intended to return to India in August, but in a great storm he perished with his own ship and one commanded by Bras Sodré, his brother. The other three escaped, but their crews suffered so much from hunger and thirst that many men died before they were fallen in with by a fleet that left Portugal in 1503.

In this year King Manuel sent out three squadrons, each of three ships. The first was commanded by Affonso d'Albuquerque,* who had Fernão Martins d'Almada and Duarte Pacheco Pereira as captains under him. It sailed from the Tagus on the 6th of April.

The second was commanded by Francisco d'Albuquerque, who had with him as captains Pedro Vaz da Veiga and Nicolau Coelho. It sailed on the 14th of April, and was the first to reach India. These two squadrons were to take in cargoes of spices, and then return to Lisbon.

After the departure of Dom Vasco da Gama, the zamorin of Calicut, smarting under his losses, and realising the hopelessness of concluding peace with the Portuguese, resolved to punish the raja of Cochin for favouring his enemies. For this purpose he equipped a large and strong army, which took the field and almost succeeded in crushing the forces of Cochin. The raja was in

* He always wrote his name Albuquerque, but Albuquerque is the modern form of the word.

desperate circumstances and the factor and his little guard were in the same condition, when the arrival of the Portuguese fleet under Francisco d'Albuquerque changed the aspect of affairs.

On the Indian coast this squadron had fallen in with the three remaining ships of Vicente Sodré's fleet, which were found in great distress. The wants of their people were relieved, and they were added to the squadron. The ship commanded by Antonio do Campo, that was left behind on the African coast by Dom Vasco da Gama and was only then able to cross the Indian sea, was also met with and added to the fleet, so that on arrival at Cochin it consisted of seven sail.

The raja was restored to power, and being now largely dependent upon the Portuguese, he gave his consent to the erection of a wooden fortress for their protection and his own. This was the first stronghold built by them in India, and was their head quarters in the East for several years thereafter. It received the name São Thiago. At the same time a church was built and dedicated to São Bartholomeu. When this was completed, Antonio do Campo was sent to Portugal with his ship laden with what spice had been collected, to convey intelligence to the king of all that had occurred. He arrived at Lisbon on the 16th of July 1504.

Owing to these events very little pepper was to be had at Cochin, but the rana of Quilon, a town much farther down the coast, sent messengers to offer a quantity. Affonso d'Albuquerque, who had in the mean time arrived, took advantage of this offer, and proceeded to Quilon, where he loaded his own ship and another. When he sailed he left there a stock of merchandise under charge of Antonio de Sá as factor, with two assistants and over twenty men as a guard, in a building given to him for the purpose by the rana.

At this time the zamorin sent messengers to Francisco d'Albuquerque to solicit peace. Terms were offered to

him, the principal of which was that he should pay two hundred and sixty-two thousand six hundred and twenty-nine kilogrammes of pepper as recompense for the destruction of the factory and the death of Aires Correa and his people. To these terms the zamorin agreed, and part of the pepper was actually delivered when a quarrel arose with some boatmen, which led to the renewal of the war. Some ginger, cinnamon, cloves, and mace were obtained at Cananor, with which the cargoes of the several ships destined to leave for Europe were completed. To protect Cochin Duarte Pacheco Pereira with his ship and two caravels was left there, and the garrison of Fort São Thiago was strengthened, after which Affonso d'Albuquerque sailed for Portugal with two ships fully laden, and Francisco d'Albuquerque followed on the 31st of January 1504 with his three ships. The first of these commanders reached Lisbon safely, but the second was never heard of again, nor was a single man of his squadron spared to tell the tale of how and when he perished.

The last of the three squadrons that sailed from Portugal in 1503 was commanded by Antonio de Saldanha. He was instructed to cruise for some time off the entrance to the Red sea, and destroy all the Arab commerce that he could before proceeding to India. The captains who sailed under his flag were Diogo Fernandes Pereira and Ruy Lourenço Ravasco, but before reaching the Cape of Good Hope the three ships separated from each other, and as the commodore did not know where he was, he entered a deep bay and cast anchor. Before him rose a great mass of rock, nearly eleven hundred metres in height, with its top making a level line more than two kilometres and a half in length on the sky. This grand mountain was flanked at either end with less lofty peaks, supported by buttresses projecting towards the shore. The recess was a capacious valley, down the centre of which flowed a streamlet of clear sweet water that fell into the bay just abreast of the ship at anchor.

The valley seemed to be without people, but after a while some Hottentots made their appearance, from whom a cow and two sheep were purchased. They were suspicious of the strangers, however, for on another occasion some two hundred of them suddenly attacked a party of Portuguese who had gone on shore, and Saldanha himself received a slight wound. Before this affray the commodore, who was in the full vigour of early life and filled with that love of adventure which distinguished his countrymen in those days of their glory, had climbed to the top of the great flat rock, to which he gave the name Table Mountain, the ravine in its face pointing out the place of ascent then, as it does to-day. From its summit he could see the sheet of water now known as False Bay, and on the isthmus connecting the Cape peninsula with the mainland some lakelets were visible. These he mistook for the mouth of a large river emptying into the head of False Bay, and thereafter for over a hundred and eighty years such a stream appeared on the maps of South Africa as coursing down from a great distance in the interior, though after a time it was made to enter the sea far to the eastward. From the top of Table Mountain Saldanha could also see the Cape of Good Hope, and so, having found out where he was, he pursued his voyage with the first fair wind. The bay in which he had anchored was thenceforth called after him Agoada de Saldanha, the watering place of Saldanha, until a century later it received its present name of Table Bay.

The ship commanded by Diogo Fernandes Pereira was separated from the other two in a storm off Cape Verde, and did not again fall in with either of them on the outward passage. She made prizes of a few Arab vessels on the East African coast, and then proceeded to the island of Socotra, where she was obliged to remain until the favourable monsoon of 1504 set in, when she went on to India.

Ruy Lourenço Ravasco parted from Saldanha in a storm after leaving the island of Saint Thomas, for, instead of keeping out of the gulf of Guinea, they were hugging the African coast. He was ahead of the commodore, and continued on his course round the Cape of Good Hope until he reached Mozambique, where he took in refreshments, and then proceeded to Kilwa. At this place he waited twenty days for the flag ship, and then, as she did not appear, he went on to Zanzibar. In a cruise of two months off that island he captured and either destroyed or held to ransom a great number of Arab vessels. Ravasco, who was utterly fearless, even ventured to drop anchor before the town of Zanzibar, where he attacked a large force collected for its defence, and won a battle in which among others the heir to the government of the island was killed. The ruler then begged for peace, and agreed to pay a yearly tribute of one hundred maticals of gold—£44 13s. 9d.—and thirty sheep to the king of Portugal.

Ravasco next went to the assistance of the friendly town of Melinde, which was threatened by a Mombasan army. While thus engaged he captured some vessels in which he found the principal members of the government of Brava, whom he compelled to ransom their persons and to agree that their town should pay a yearly tribute of £223 8s. 9d. Here he was joined by Saldanha, who had also taken several prizes, and whose arrival brought the ruler of Mombasa to terms. He consented to make peace with Melinde, but his own independence was not subverted. The two Portuguese ships then set sail for the Arabian coast, where they did considerable damage, after which they proceeded to India.

As soon as the fleets under Affonso and Francisco d'Albuquerque left India, the zamorin of Calicut prepared to renew his attack upon the raja of Cochin. He formed alliances with numerous Hindu rulers, and everywhere the Mohamedan traders were eager to join his standard, so

that he was able to raise and equip a very large army and some hundreds of coasting vessels and boats. The account of what followed, as narrated by the Portuguese historians, would seem to be utterly fabulous if it was not so well authenticated that its truth is beyond question. The raja was in despair, and would not have attempted to resist if it had not been for one man, who was without fear even in face of the terrible odds against him. That man was Duarte Pacheco Pereira, who had been entrusted with the defence of Cochin, and who stood out on this occasion as one of the greatest commanders that Portugal or indeed any country has ever produced.

His artillery was of course vastly superior to any implement of war that the zamorin had at his disposal, but with only one ship, two caravels, and a wooden fort, with less than two hundred Portuguese under his command, it was a deed of almost unparalleled daring for him to stand at bay. He had nominally at different times several thousand Hindu troops aiding him, but they could never be depended upon. They were prone to desert, or to run away in companies, or even to go over to the enemy, rather than meet the shock of battle, though they could be used for entrenching and other purposes. Month after month passed away, fresh forces were constantly brought up by the enemy, and still Cochin held out. At length, when the time approached that a Portuguese fleet might be expected, the zamorin withdrew discomfited, and the fame of the Portuguese arms resounded over India. The enemy had lost in battle or by disease eighteen thousand men, and the siege had lasted nearly six months.

On the 22nd of April 1504 a fleet of thirteen of the largest ships yet built in Portugal, with twelve hundred men on board, sailed from the Tagus for India under command of Lopo Soares d'Albergaria. It touched at Mozambique and Melinde on the outward passage, at both of which places it received good entertainment. At

Melinde six Portuguese seamen were found, who had belonged to Pedro d'Ataide's ship, and who gave information of the condition of affairs on the Malabar coast. At Anjediva the ships of Antonio de Saldanha and Ruy Lourenço Ravasco were met, preparing for another cruise against Arab vessels, but Soares took them on with him. After a short stay at Cananor, he proceeded to Calicut, where he caused great damage to the town by bombarding it for two days, and then sailed for Cochin, anchoring there on the 14th of September.

From this place expeditions were sent out, one of which nearly destroyed Cranganor, a city subject to the zamorin, and would have utterly razed it had it not been considered obligatory to spare the property of the Christians of Saint Thomas. The raja of Tanor, who had rebelled against the zamorin, was assisted, and not only was great loss of life inflicted on the enemy, but much booty was made. Five ships were sent to Quilon, and took in cargoes of pepper there. Soares then left four ships under Manuel Terres Barreto to guard the coast of Malabar, and having completed his cargoes at Cananor, sailed for Portugal.

When returning homeward, he touched at Kilwa, and demanded from the emir Abraham the tribute then due. The emir refused to pay it, and no attempt was made to force him to do so. At Mozambique the fleet remained twelve days taking in provisions and water, as this island had now become the favourite refreshing place of the Portuguese whether outward or homeward bound. From Mozambique the two fastest sailing ships, under command of Pedro de Mendonça and Lopo d'Abreu, were sent in advance to Lisbon with a report of the condition of affairs in India, but the one under Pedro de Mendonça ran ashore at night some distance west of the watering place of São Bras, and was lost with all her crew. Lopo Soares reached the Tagus again on the 22nd of July 1505, after the most successful voyage yet made.

CHAPTER VI.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PORTUGUESE RULE IN INDIA.

THE experience of the Portuguese was by this time sufficient to make them believe that they were invincible in contests with the inhabitants of Eastern Africa or Hindostan, provided they were entrenched in forts or were on shipboard. Such a belief contributed greatly to their daring, while it also made them arrogant in their dealings with those they came in contact with, so that strife was often needlessly provoked. They were not, and did not pretend to be, mere peaceful traders, they were crusaders warring against Mohamedans, and ready to inflict injury in any way open to them upon the detested creed of Islam. In their eyes, and in the cruel spirit of the time, they were doing God a service by the wanton butchery of those who worshipped Him in a different manner from themselves. The day was indeed near at hand when their greatest representative in India adopted other and more merciful practices, but it had not yet dawned. The king shared these opinions with the people, and resolved to establish his authority in the East in such a solid manner that it could not be disputed.

For this purpose he resolved to construct forts at Sofala, Kilwa, Anjediva, Cananor, Cochin, and Quilon, to station effective garrisons in them, and to maintain two powerful fleets of war in the Indian sea, one to guard the coast from Cape Guardafui to the gulf of Cambay, the other to perform the same service from the gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin, which would give him absolute control of the whole commerce of Western India and Eastern

Africa. Such a design seems almost audacious for a little country like Portugal to attempt to carry out, but the people were full of energy, and the enormous profit on eastern produce gave promise of boundless wealth. Lisbon was rapidly becoming the storehouse from which all Western Europe was supplied with spices and Indian wares of every kind. These were not distributed in the places of consumption by the Portuguese, who were unequal to that additional task, and so the beautiful Tagus was visited by ships of many nations, whose merchants drew their supplies from the great warehouses on its banks. The glory of Venice had not yet quite departed, but every year her traffic was becoming less and less.

To encourage men to enlist as soldiers for service in India, they were offered a share in the pepper trade. Their regular pay was fifteen shillings and four pence a month, with food or seven shillings and eight pence a month maintenance money; but each one received in India every year in addition one hundred and fifty kilogrammes of pepper, which he was permitted to send home in the king's ships to be sold on his account. Officers of all ranks and the sailors in the fleets were paid in the same way, each one receiving a certain quantity of pepper according to the importance of his duties. At that time gold and silver had a very much higher purchasing power than they have at present, thus, according to Barros, pepper brought wholesale in Lisbon only about seven pence three farthings a kilogramme when sold for coin, but if bartered for European goods or provisions it produced many times as much as it would to-day.

To carry out the king's design a great fleet was made ready, in which fifteen hundred soldiers were embarked. A large number of noblemen and gentlemen, appointed to various situations which they were to hold for three years, were also on board, and everything that would be needed for the object in view had been carefully provided. A capable officer, named Tristão da Cunha, was selected as

head of the expedition, but when all was in readiness for leaving he was seized with an illness which for a time deprived him of sight, so he was obliged to retire from the command. The vacant post was then offered to Dom Francisco d'Almeida, and accepted by him.

This nobleman was a son of the count of Abrantes and brother of the bishop of Coimbra. He was a man of valour, who had distinguished himself in various positions, and who was generally esteemed for his probity and generosity. The instructions issued to him provided that he should be styled chief captain and governor until the several fortresses were built, after which he was to take the title of viceroy; he was directed what ships he was to send back with cargoes, and what others he was to keep to guard the coasts; he was to treat with justice and kindness all who should act towards him in a friendly manner, but was to wage relentless war against the Mohamedans who should oppose him; and he was especially to favour all converts to Christianity.

As commander of the fortress which was to be built at Sofala, a gentleman named Pedro d'Anaya was appointed, who was to go out as captain of one of the ships. Another gentleman, named Pedro Ferreira Fogaça, was in the same way sent out to be captain of the fortress to be built at Kilwa. But the ship in which Pedro d'Anaya was to sail sank one night in the river, which caused an alteration in the plan regarding Sofala. Instead of going there first, the chief captain was to commence the erection of fortresses at Kilwa, and as soon as other ships could be made ready Pedro d'Anaya was to be sent with them to the coveted gold port, still, however, in a subordinate position.

On the 25th of March 1505 Dom Francisco d'Almeida set sail from Belem. Never before had so many people assembled to take part in the religious observances usual on such occasions and to bid farewell to those who were leaving, for never had so many men of rank and position gone with such an expedition before. The fleet consisted of twenty-

one ships, of which eleven were to return with cargoes, and the others to remain in the Indian sea. The materials for constructing several caravels were also on board. Well fitted out as the ships were, the crews were largely composed of landsmen, and in one in particular there was not a sailor who on leaving knew how to manage the helm.

On the 6th of April the fleet arrived at Cape Verde, and after taking in water at some harbours on that coast, left on the 15th. As some of the ships were very slow sailers, seven of them were here formed into a separate squadron, the command of which was given to Manuel Paçanha, and with the remaining fourteen Dom Francisco tried to push on more quickly. On the 5th of May in a heavy sea the ship commanded by Pedro Ferreira Fogaça was observed to be sinking, and her crew were hardly rescued when she went down with nearly everything on board. The Cape of Good Hope was doubled on the 26th of June, but the fleet had gone so far south to avoid danger that the cold was very severe and the decks of the ships were covered with snow. Turning now to the north-eastward, without touching anywhere on the way himself, but sending two ships under Gonçalo de Paiva and Fernão Bermudes to Mozambique for information, Dom Francisco d'Almeida reached Kilwa on the 22nd of July. His squadron was intact, except the vessels detached and one, of which João Serrão was captain, that had parted from him in a gale.

João da Nova, who was going out to command the fleet of war that was to guard the sea from the gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin, was at once sent ashore to arrange with the emir Abraham for a meeting. Some fruit was taken on board the flag ship as a present when she dropped anchor, but no other show of welcome was made, nor was the Portuguese flag that the admiral Dom Vasco da Gama had left there exhibited as a sign of dependency. The emir promised João da Nova to meet Dom Francisco on the water the following morning, but when the time came and the gaily decorated Portuguese boats were there in readiness,

he sent word that a black cat had crossed his path on rising, which was an omen that no agreement made that day would be lasting, and therefore he wished to postpone the interview. Shortly after this, however, he fled to the mainland with a few attendants, but left about fifteen hundred men capable of bearing arms in the town, though there was nothing like a spirit of union among them.

Thereupon Dom Francisco resolved to take forcible possession of the place. To do this, at early dawn in the morning of the 24th he landed at the head of three hundred men at one point, and his son Dom Lourenço d'Almeida with two hundred at another, when each marched towards the residence of the emir. Hardly any resistance was offered, except in one of the narrow streets, for instead of attempting to defend the town most of the inhabitants followed their ruler to the mainland with as much of their movable property as they could carry away. The residence of the emir, which was in a commanding position, was thus easily secured, after which the Franciscan friars in the fleet landed and set up a cross, before which the canticle *Te Deum Laudamus* was chanted, and when this was concluded the place was given up to plunder. A great quantity of calico, spices, and other Indian produce, as well as ivory, ambergris, and African provisions, was collected and stored in a well guarded building close to the beach.

No time was lost in selecting a site for a fort, as the emir's residence was in a good position and could be altered and strengthened to serve the purpose. The adjoining buildings were cleared away to leave a large open space on three sides, and their materials were used for the necessary additions to the walls and for the construction of towers. On the fourth side the fort was so close to the shore of the harbour that at high water the waves beat against it. In twenty days the work was completed and cannon were mounted on the walls, as every one in the fleet, the commander himself included, joined with alacrity in the task of carrying stones and earth, and lightened the labour with

jest and merry songs. The structure was named São Thiago, after the patron saint of the Iberian peninsula, on whose festival the work was commenced.

Meantime the form of the future government of Kilwa was taken into consideration. Dom Francisco d'Almeida resolved to leave everything as it was, except by changing the person at the head of the administration, and to permit the inhabitants of the town to return and resume possession of their houses in peace and security, provided they would accept the new ruler appointed by him. The emir Abraham, being a usurper, had no strong hold upon the affections of the people, and they consented readily to his being displaced. Between him and Mohamed Ankoni, who has been mentioned before, there was a deep feeling of enmity, which had caused Mohamed to be regarded by the Portuguese as their firm friend, as he professed to be. This was the man selected by Dom Francisco, with the consent of a council of his officers, to take the place of the deposed emir. He was not connected in any way with the family that had ruled Kilwa for centuries, but that was not regarded as of any importance, since he was to owe his position solely to the favour of the Portuguese.

Accordingly Mohamed Ankoni was offered the title of king, which he accepted, and he was crowned and proclaimed with much ceremony. He was about sixty years of age, and had sons who might succeed him, but for some reason or other—possibly to gain favour with the people—he stipulated that on his death the heir of the last legitimate ruler, the youth who had been kept out of his inheritance by the emir Abraham, should take his place. To this Dom Francisco agreed, attributing the proposal to the new *king's* goodness of disposition. Mohamed Ankoni made oath to pay the tribute imposed by Dom Vasco da Gama fully and regularly, and in all respects to act as a loyal and faithful vassal of Portugal. In this manner the difficulty of government, which the conquerors were too few in number to take upon themselves, was satisfactorily overcome.

Pedro Ferreira Fogaça was installed as captain of the fortress, with Francisco Coutinho as magistrate, and Fernão Cotrim as factor to conduct trade. Various other officials were appointed, and with the soldiers one hundred and fifty men in all were stationed in the fort São Thiago as a garrison. Instructions were given that a small vessel which was being constructed of timber brought from Lisbon and the caravel under command of Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, then in the squadron under Manuel Paçanha, should be kept to guard the coast as far down as Sofala, making Kilwa their home station and base of operations. Thus was commenced the Portuguese dominion on the coast of Eastern Africa, for Fort São Thiago was the first stronghold built and garrisoned there.

While these events were taking place the strayed ship under João Serrão arrived, and also the two under Gonçalo de Paiva and Fernão Bermudes that had been sent to Mozambique to obtain information. These brought letters from Lopo Soares that had been left at that island, containing an account of the condition of affairs in India and of his successful voyage, which gave much satisfaction to Dom Francisco and those with him. Nothing more now remaining to be done at Kilwa, on the 8th of August the fleet set sail, and in the evening of the 13th cast anchor outside the bar of Mombasa.

Gonçalo de Paiva's vessel was a small one, and he was therefore sent on the following morning to take soundings before the other ships should attempt to enter the harbour. When doing this he was fired upon from a battery on the shore, on which were mounted the guns recovered from Sancho de Toar's ship that had been lost when returning from India with Pedro Alvares Cabral, and a ball from one of them went through his vessel from stem to stern, without, however, harming any one on board. He returned the fire with his artillery so effectually that the magazine of the battery exploded, when the guns were silenced, and the men who worked them fled into the town. The soundings were

then completed, and it was ascertained that the fleet could enter without danger.

Thereupon Dom Francisco d'Almeida stood into the harbour and anchored his ships in two divisions before different parts of the town. When this was done a message was sent to the ruler by a pilot brought from Kilwa, offering peace and friendship on condition of his becoming a vassal of Portugal and paying tribute, otherwise war would be waged against him. The messenger was not even allowed to land, but some men from the shore—among whom was a Portuguese renegade—called out to him to inform the captain-general that the warriors of Mombasa were not like the hens of Kilwa to be frightened at the sound of artillery, as he would find if he attempted to enter the town. From an inhabitant of the place who was taken prisoner by some boats that were sent up the strait, it was learned also that as soon as the attack on Kilwa became known preparations for defence were hurried on, and that in addition to the Mohamedan residents over fifteen hundred Kaffir archers were in the town and more were hourly expected.

An attempt to bombard the place was then made, but without any effect, as the artillery of those days was not sufficiently powerful to cause damage at such a distance. An endeavour to set fire to some vessels from India that were anchored in the strait was also a failure, and in making it the captain João Serrão was severely wounded and two others were killed with poisoned arrows. Dom Francisco next pretended to be preparing to attack the town in a particular place opposite his main squadron, and even sent his son Dom Lourenço with a strong party on shore there as if to try to set it on fire, but with orders to retreat to his boats without hard fighting. Dom Lourenço carried out these instructions, but lost two men killed and many wounded in doing so. By this means the captain-general drew the whole strength of the enemy to guard and protect that side, and was enabled to carry out the plan of operations he had formed.

Before dawn of the morning following this ruse nearly the whole Portuguese force, after having received absolution from the priests, left the ships in boats to attack Mombasa. One division, under Dom Lourenço, went straight ashore to the front of the town, where the skirmish had taken place, and for a time was believed by the defenders to constitute the whole body of assailants. Another, but much smaller division, rowed up the strait to the vessels from India, to sound trumpets and make as much noise as possible, in order to draw the attention of the enemy to that point. This, however, was only a feint, for the principal attacking force, under the captain-general in person, leaving the smaller squadron which was anchored off the inner end of the town, landed round a point, and fell upon the place from behind.

The plan succeeded, though the defenders made a desperate resistance, especially in the narrow streets, which were so steep that huge boulders could be rolled down them, and where arrows were discharged from the windows and stones hurled from the flat roofs until the Portuguese made their way up and got possession of those terraces. The residence of the ruler was the point aimed at, and there Dom Francisco and his son, after a severe combat in the open space in front, met and found the building abandoned. The townspeople and their Kaffir auxiliaries now strove to flee to a palm grove at some distance, but were shot down with the firelocks and crossbows of the victors and pierced with their lances until it was believed that over fifteen hundred had perished. Fully a thousand, mostly women and children, were made prisoners. Mombasa was then given over to be plundered, and when the spoil was secured was set on fire and as much of it as was possible was destroyed. Only five or six Portuguese had lost their lives, but more than seventy had been wounded, some very severely.

Still, notwithstanding his heavy punishment of a people whose chief offence was refusing to surrender their

independence, Dom Francisco d'Almeida was for his day a humane man. None of those revolting mutilations and barbarities practised by the great Affonso d'Albuquerque on similar occasions, and which must ever stain the memory of his name, were inflicted upon the captives who, trembling with fear, were brought before the victorious captain-general. He selected two hundred to be retained in bondage, and set the others at liberty. This was regarded as magnanimity in the early years of the sixteenth century, and particularly so when dealing with Mohamedans.

The caravel commanded by Gonçalo Vaz de Goes was laden with calico, part of the spoil, and sent to Mozambique to be ready for the trade of Sofala when a fortress should be erected there, after which the remainder of the fleet was towed over the bar and waited outside until a fair wind enabled it to proceed farther up the coast. No garrison was left to occupy Mombasa, so the inhabitants resumed possession of the ruins as soon as the Christians retired, and commenced to rebuild the town.

It was the intention of Dom Francisco d'Almeida to put into Melinde next, to greet the friendly ruler of that town, but the currents carried him beyond it, so he anchored in a bay about forty kilometres farther on, where he found two of the ships of the squadron under Manuel Paçanha. From this place messengers were sent to Melinde with a present from King Manuel to the ruler, to which the captain-general added a considerable quantity of the spoils of Mombasa. The destruction of this place occasioned great satisfaction at Melinde, and complimentary messages to Dom Francisco with a supply of refreshments for his ships were sent in return. On the 27th of August the fleet again set sail, and with a fair wind crossed over to Anjediva, where without any delay the construction of a stone fort was commenced and pushed forward. The whole of the squadron under Manuel Paçanha had previously joined him, except one ship, commanded by Lopo Sanches, which it was afterwards ascertained had been wrecked near Cape Correntes, and another, under Lucas

da Fonseca, that arrived at Mozambique later than the others, and remained there until the next favourable monsoon enabled it to complete its passage to India.

When the fort at Anjediva was well advanced eighty officers and men were placed in it, with everything necessary for their maintenance and defence, and two vessels of war were appointed to guard the station.

On the 16th of October the fleet sailed to the mouth of a river on the mainland, where a powerful Hindu corsair named Timoja had his headquarters, and where his flotilla was then lying at anchor. He was regarded at first as a pirate whose hand was against every man, and some of his vessels were destroyed, but before much damage was done to him he was able to convince D'Almeida that a great mistake was being made by treating him as an enemy, and an agreement of close friendship was then entered into between him and the Portuguese. Their common hatred of the Mohamedans was the bond of union between them, and this was strong enough to lead Timoja and his retainers, though belonging to a race not warlike in character, to aid the Christians with arms and by every other means in their power. It was this division of the people of India, in which race was opposed to race and creed to creed, that enabled the Portuguese to acquire authority over them all. If the population of the whole country had been homogeneous, the Portuguese would have been to it as a fly to an elephant. In another chapter it will be seen what important results this alliance with Timoja brought about; and how faithfully he adhered to his agreement.

On the 24th of October the fleet proceeded to Cananor, where Dom Francisco assumed the title of viceroy. With the consent of the raja he built there a fortress, or perhaps it would be more correct to term it a fortified factory, in which Lourenço de Brito was stationed as captain, with a staff of officials and a garrison of soldiers,

one hundred and fifty men in all. Two vessels of war were also left there to assist in the protection of Portuguese interests by guarding the factory against any hostile naval force that the Mohamedans might send against it. The raja was not interfered with in the government of his own people, but a close watch was kept upon his dealings with the rulers of other states. The factory, being independent of his control, was like a little state within a larger one.

On the 1st of November the viceroy arrived at Cochin, which he made his principal residence during his stay in India. The raja of this place was entirely dependent upon the Portuguese, so that the factory was perfectly safe. He was treated by them with respect and courtesy, and his authority over the Indian residents was undisturbed, but he must have realised that he was little more than a puppet in their hands.

The first intelligence which the viceroy received at Cochin was that the factor Antonio de Sá and all the Portuguese at Quilon had lost their lives in a brawl. Four vessels belonging to Mohamedans of Calicut had arrived there partly laden with spices, with the object of completing cargoes of pepper and then sailing direct for the Red sea. The people of Quilon looked upon these Mohamedans just as they did upon the Portuguese Christians, as customers for trade, and were prepared to sell to whichever offered the highest price. Thereupon the Portuguese, acting in an arrogant and highhanded manner, not only prevented the Mohamedans from taking in any pepper, but compelled them to sell the spices they had already on board at such prices as the purchasers chose to give. A little later more than twenty vessels belonging to Mohamedans arrived at Quilon, and in an altercation at the Portuguese factory a quarrel took place which ended in blows. The Mohamedans appealed to the government for redress, and the populace joining with them an attack was made upon the factory. The Portuguese

retired to a stone church which they had built, but were driven from it by fire, and were then cut down to a man. One of the caravels left behind by Lopo Soares, that happened to be there at the time, made her escape, and conveyed information of what had occurred to the viceroy at Cochin.

D'Almeida, who was desirous of obtaining cargoes of pepper at Quilon, sent his son Dom Lourenço with a strong squadron to that town, with instructions that if he was received in a friendly manner he was to throw the blame for what had occurred upon the dead men, but if not, he was to inflict condign punishment. On his arrival he sent a messenger on shore to offer peace, who was received with a shower of arrows, and twenty-four vessels manned by Mohamedans that were in the port drew together in an attitude of defence. Understanding that there were among them some belonging to Cananor and Cochin, Dom Lourenço offered to let them depart, but they chose to share the fate of the others. He then opened his artillery upon them, and destroyed them all, the only men in them who escaped being some who jumped overboard and swam ashore. When this was done, the squadron sailed from Quilon.

The raja of Cochin, being very old, wished to retire, and nominated one of his nephews as his successor. The viceroy then with a great deal of pomp and ceremony placed a crown of gold on the new ruler's head in the name of King Manuel, and arranged with him that a strong fort should be built and garrisoned *for his protection*. In December six ships with full cargoes were sent back to Portugal, which were followed in February 1506 by two others. Three more left a little later, and still other three, under Fernão Soares as commodore, at nearly the same time. The last three were driven from the ordinary course by continuous storms, and were the first that saw and touched at the southern coast of Madagascar, where they took in water. This shortened

their passage so much that they reached Lisbon on the 23rd of May 1506.

For a long time no ships arrived in India from Europe, and the viceroy was left to manage matters as well as he could with the slender force at his command. He sent his son Dom Lourenço with all the vessels he could muster to cruise upward along the coast, when a fleet belonging to Calicut was encountered, and much damage was done to it. The fort at Anjediva was besieged by Mohamedan forces, chiefly from Goa, and was hard pressed when Dom Lourenço arrived and relieved it. He was then sent on a cruise of exploration southward, and was the first Portuguese to visit Ceylon. At Galle he found many vessels belonging to Mohamedans, but as he was ignorant of the strength of the government there he did not venture to attack them.

The year 1506 and a great part of 1507 passed away; and still no ships from Portugal arrived to lighten the cares of the viceroy. The Mohamedans everywhere, and now even the raja of Cananor, were in arms against him. Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, one of his captains, had fallen in at sea with a vessel belonging to Cananor, and took possession of her. She had a Portuguese pass guaranteeing protection against seizure, but he professed to believe that it was spurious, and to conceal his lawless conduct he drowned every man of her crew and sank the vessel. But the atrocious crime came to light, and the indignant raja laid siege to the fort in his town and endeavoured to drive the Portuguese from the place. The zamorin of Calicut sent large bodies of men to his aid, and the siege was pressed with vigour. Under these circumstances the viceroy felt himself obliged to withdraw the garrison from Anjediva and demolish the fort there, as of less importance than those on the mainland. All the reinforcements that could be drawn together were thrown into the fort at Cananor, but it was impossible to supply a sufficient quantity of provisions. The garrison under the

captain Lourenço de Brito suffered extremely from hunger, all the dogs, cats, and rats were eaten, and it was regarded as a special miracle wrought by God in their favour when in a great storm a large number of crayfish were thrown up on the beach. For more than four months the siege of the fortified factory lasted. Then, on the 27th of August 1507, the arrival of a powerful fleet under Tristão da Cunha caused the raja to withdraw the besieging army and enter again into an agreement of friendship with the Portuguese.

Tristão da Cunha sailed from Lisbon on the 6th of March 1506 with nine ships, and in his company was another fleet of five ships of war commanded by Affonso d'Albuquerque, whose name was destined to become more famous than that of any other Portuguese commander in the East, Vasco da Gama alone excepted. On the passage the islands of Tristão da Cunha were discovered and part of the coast of Madagascar was explored, Mozambique was touched at, and Melinde was visited. There was a feud at this time between the sheik of Melinde and the town of Oja, which was about one hundred and thirteen kilometres distant. Oja was on the coast of the mainland, and contained many well built stone houses, with a wall to protect it on the inner side; but it was without a harbour. To please the friend of Portugal, Da Cunha undertook to reduce it. He sailed to the place, and having anchored in the roadstead, sent a message ashore demanding an interview with the ruler and submission to the crown of Portugal. To this he received a reply that the sheik of Oja would acknowledge no superior except the sultan of Egypt, who was the caliph in succession to the prophet Mohamed, and without whose permission he could have no dealings with strangers who were acting as enemies. The next day the Portuguese landed in two divisions, under Tristão da Cunha and Affonso d'Albuquerque, and without much difficulty defeated the inhabitants and killed the sheik. The town

was then plundered and set on fire, when, as it was built partly of wood, the flames spread so quickly that several soldiers who were still seeking spoil lost their lives.

The fleet then proceeded to Lamu, a town of no great importance about ninety-six kilometres farther on. The sheik of this place was so terrified by the fate of his neighbour that he at once offered to submit and pay a yearly tribute of £268 2s. 6d. To this the Portuguese officers agreed, when the amount for that year was at once delivered, together with a quantity of provisions, so no damage was done to the town or its people.

Brava, one of the strongest cities on the coast, was next aimed at. Some of the principal men of this place had been captured in trading vessels by Ruy Lourenço Ravasco in 1503 and had been obliged to consent that it should become tributary to Portugal, but upon their return home this agreement was repudiated by the government, and every effort had since been made to prepare against attack. Upon the arrival of the fleet under Tristão da Cunha and Affonso d'Albuquerque, Diogo Fernandes Pereira, captain of the ship *Cerne*, was sent ashore to make the customary demand. The reply that he received was significant, though it was not in words: he was conducted to a spot where over six thousand armed men marched past before him. But most of these warriors were black barbarians, whose weapons were assagais and bows and arrows, so the display by no means intimidated the Portuguese.

At dawn the next morning Tristão da Cunha and Affonso d'Albuquerque landed at the head of their soldiers and sailors, and after a desperate resistance, in which forty-two Portuguese were killed and over sixty wounded, Brava was taken. The spoil was immense. Shocking barbarities were committed by some of the soldiers, who even cut off the hands of the Arab women to get the silver arm-rings which they wore. But such cruelties

were not approved by every one, and some among those who regarded the butchery of defenceless Mohamedans as meritorious did not doubt that the loss of a boatload of goods and the drowning of a number of soldiers was a manifestation of God's wrath upon the evil doers for their excesses in mutilating the unfortunate females. After Brava was plundered it was given to the flames, and was left a smouldering mass of ruins.

The Portuguese fleets then sailed to Socotra, which they reached in April 1507. It was believed that this island commanded the entrance to the gulf of Aden, and that its possession would therefore enable them to check the commerce of the Arabs in that direction. It did not possess a single good harbour, nor did it produce anything of much commercial value. The Arabs of the opposite coast had recently constructed a fort on it, which Da Cunha and Albuquerque resolved to make themselves masters of. They accordingly landed with a strong force of soldiers and sailors, and advancing against the fort, succeeded in taking it by storm. It was then strengthened, and on the 6th of May Antonio de Noronha was placed in command of it, with a garrison of one hundred officers and men. It received the name São Miguel. Here the fleets waited until at the beginning of August the favourable monsoon set in, when Tristão da Cunha set sail for Cananor, and Affonso d'Albuquerque went on a cruise along the southern coast of Arabia.

There was so much pepper and other spice in store when Tristão da Cunha arrived on the coast of Malabar that he could load his ships without delay, but as some of them required to be careened and caulked, while this was being done he and the viceroy planned an expedition to destroy a large fleet of merchant vessels belonging to Mohamedans lying in a river between Calicut and Cochin. The place was subject to the zamorin, and both banks of the river were fortified, while a strong land force was there to protect the shipping. On the 24th of October

1507 the viceroy with all the vessels he could muster, aided by Da Cunha with part of his fleet, made the attack, and after a most determined resistance, in which the Portuguese lost eighteen men killed and over sixty wounded, they captured and burnt the whole of the shipping there. More than five hundred Mohamedans lost their lives in defence of their property and in a mosque on the bank of the river in which some of them had taken refuge.

Da Cunha then returned to Cananor, where he completed the lading of his ships, and on the 10th of December sailed for Lisbon. Before reaching Mozambique his fleet got scattered, and after taking in water there he left with only three sail. The others followed in turn, and all reached Portugal safely except one, commanded by Job Queimado, which was attacked and plundered in the Mozambique channel by a French corsair named Mondragon.

In 1507 eleven ships left Lisbon for India in three squadrons, but none of them arrived there until the following year, and by none of them was anything accomplished that requires notice.

By this time many of the prominent capes and some of the bays on the South African coast had been named by Portuguese captains, but all of these cannot be identified now. There were then no means known for determining longitudes with any degree of accuracy, and the instrument commonly used for measuring vertical angles required to be firmly fixed on shore, so that the latitudes given by seamen who did not land to take observations were usually very incorrect. On this account it cannot be stated with certainty, for instance, whether the river Infante was the present Kowie, Fish, or Keiskama, for its inland course as laid down on the maps was purely imaginary. And so with many other names. Still a considerable number can be determined with exactitude, and remain in use to the present day, though

generally in an English form. Such are the following: Saint Helena Bay, Table Mountain, Cape of Good Hope, False Bay, Cape Agulhas, Natal, Saint Lucia Bay, Cape Correntes, and Cape Saint Sebastian. Besides these, a good many corrupted Portuguese words are found on most modern maps of South Africa, but they do not always represent names given by the Portuguese to the places indicated.

Note.—There is great difficulty in correctly converting Portuguese money of the sixteenth century into its English equivalent of the present day, because the real (plural reaes and reis), in which accounts were usually kept, has been constantly changing in value. At the time of the discovery of the sea route to India it was worth a little more than an English farthing, at the present moment it is valued at less than one-twentieth of a penny. Thus to express a certain number of reis at any given time in sovereigns and shillings, it is necessary to know what was indicated by a real at that particular time. The rate of exchange, if that could be ascertained, would not suffice, because English coin in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was never worth its face value abroad, on account of its being so generally clipped. Another difficulty when dealing with South-Eastern Africa arises from the fact that hardly any coined money was in circulation, the matical, mitical, or mithkal as variously written, which was a certain quantity in weight of fine rough gold, being the standard of exchange. This matical differed from that of India, where it represented about seventy-three grains, while at Mozambique and Sofala, according to Antonio Nunes, who prepared tables of money, weights, and measures in 1554, it was taken to represent four hundred and sixty-seven reis. Barros also gives five hundred maticals as equal to five hundred and eighty-four cruzados of four hundred reis each.

The curator of the coin department of the British museum did me the great favour of accurately weighing a number of Portuguese gold coins of the reigns of Manuel, João III, and Sebastião, and giving me their value in reis at the time of issue, the purity of the metal being about the same as that of the present English sovereign. The coins of Manuel and João III were slightly worn, and showed one real to weigh $\cdot 108$ of a grain Troy. One of Sebastião was in perfect condition, and weighed $\cdot 118$ of a grain Troy to the real. Another of the same monarch, slightly worn, gave $\cdot 1155$ of a grain Troy to the real. The present English sovereign

weighs 123·27447 grains Troy, and is therefore equal in intrinsic value to nearly 1044·7 reis at the time that Barros, Castanheda, and De Goes wrote. On this basis I have converted the real during the part of the sixteenth century preceding the death of King Sebastião into English money at the rate of ·2297 of a penny, and have valued the matical at eight shillings and eleven pence farthing. I know of no better way of dealing with this question, still it may be as well for the reader to consider the sums mentioned as only approximately correct. Of course this matter has no bearing whatever upon the relative value of gold to other commodities in the early years of the sixteenth century and the present time.

The late Sir Henry Yule by a different method from that here followed found the value of the real at different times to be:

At the beginning of the 16th century ·268*d*.

At the beginning of the 17th century ·160*d*.

At the beginning of the 19th century ·060*d*. to ·066*d*.

In 1886 ·060*d*.

He also gives the value of the coin called São Thomé, of one thousand reis, struck by Garcia de Sá in the mint at Goa when he was captain-general and governor of India in 1548-9, as £1 2*s*. 4*d*., or one real equal to ·268*d*. See *Hobson-Jobson: being a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases, and of Kindred Terms; Etymological, Historical, Geographical, and Discursive*. By Col. Henry Yule, R.E., C.B., LL.D., and the late Arthur Coke Burnell, Ph.D., C.I.E. An octavo volume of 870+xlviiii pages, London, 1886. Article *Pardao*, page 837.

For information upon the real see also the *Vocabulario Portuguez e Latino*, by Padre D. Raphael Bluteau. Lisboa, 1720. Article *Real*.

Another, and still greater difficulty in giving values arises from the fact that the Portuguese historians are not in all cases in agreement as to amounts. Thus Castanheda and De Goes state that the tribute to be paid yearly by the ruler of Kilwa was two thousand maticals of gold, while Barros states that it was five hundred. In such cases there is no other course to adopt than to decide by the balance of evidence, the weight due to the testimony of each narrator, and the probability as to which is correct. In this instance I give the preference to De Goes on account of his position as keeper of the archives.

CHAPTER VII.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PORTUGUESE RULE IN INDIA

(continued).

WHEN Tristão da Cunha sailed from Socotra to India Affonso d'Albuquerque went on a cruise along the south-eastern coast of Arabia. He had six ships under his command, equipped with the best artillery then known, plentifully supplied with ammunition, and with crews mustering nearly five hundred men. Heavy cannon were at the time in common use in Portuguese ships, though arquebuses had not yet entirely supplanted crossbows as weapons for individual soldiers. It could be wished, for the honour of humanity and the Christian name, that the Portuguese writers exaggerated the barbarities committed by Albuquerque, which they regarded as heroic deeds, for such was the cruel spirit of the time that cutting off the ears and noses of defenceless men and putting to death indiscriminately men, women, and children of the Mohamedan faith were ordinary incidents in his career. To strike terror into the hearts of the Mohamedans was his object, and he succeeded in it, for he soon came to be regarded by them as an archfiend, whose power and malignity were more than human. On his part, he really believed that they were children of the devil, under whose direction they acted at all times, and that it was his duty to God to do them as much harm as he possibly could. At a later period of his life he came to see that it was impossible for him to exterminate or even to subdue them all, and he then acted more charitably towards them, but at this time he was utterly remorseless in cruelty.

Fortunately for them he could not go inland, and it was only within the range of his ships' guns that his power was irresistible, but along the margin of the sea were many towns and villages completely exposed. The rules of war, even of such relentless war as he was waging, required that a demand of some kind should be made upon a place before it was attacked, and his demand was submission to the crown of Portugal and payment of tribute. This was naturally declined by those who thought they could resist, who saw only six ships at anchor before their town, and who owed allegiance to the ruler of Ormuz. His artillery, which was vastly superior to anything they had to oppose it, then speedily settled the matter, and terrible was the fate of any prisoners who were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands.

Kalhat was then the principal town and port on the coast of Oman, and it was the first place visited. Its inhabitants received the Portuguese with such professions of friendship, and complied so readily with all the demands made by Albuquerque, that it was spared. It was very different with Kuryat, the next port called at. Its inhabitants were disposed to resist rather than submit tamely, and the consequence was the utter destruction of the place, which was sacked and burnt, after the mutilation or massacre of all of both sexes that had lived in it.

Muskat came next. This town was then of much less importance than it came to be in later years under Portuguese rule or than it acquired under its independent sultans at the beginning of the nineteenth century, still it was no mean place. There were negotiations concerning its fate, which seemed at first to be taking a favourable turn, but one night a strong body of troops arrived from Ormuz to aid in its defence, and next morning it was attacked. The town was taken, sacked, and burnt, with the usual accompaniments of mutilation and butchery.

Soar, the next port visited, submitted to Alboquerque's terms and was spared, but a town called by Barros Orfação, a little farther north, was sacked, and some of its inhabitants were put to the sword.

At the end of September he reached Ormuz (or as often written Hormuz), the capital city of the region he had devastated. It was built on a little island at the entrance of the Persian gulf, and commanded one of the great trade routes between India and the shore of the Mediterranean sea. Ormuz was frequented by merchants from all parts of the eastern world, and even Russian traders were found there, bringing furs to exchange for the spices of Ceylon. A vast number of cargo vessels of different sizes and build were lying there at anchor, among which the Portuguese ships appeared hardly worthy of notice. Yet with an audacity that seems almost beyond belief, Alboquerque made his demand upon the government: submission to the crown of Portugal and payment of tribute. The hereditary ruler of the country was then a boy twelve years of age, and the government was carried on in his name by a man named Coge Atar.

The reply to Alboquerque's demand was polite in language, but it rejected the proposal, and he then opened fire upon the shipping, among which were vessels larger than his own. The damage occasioned was enormous, over sixteen hundred individuals were reported to have been shot or drowned, and the resistance was so ineffective that only ten Portuguese were killed and some fifty wounded. Coge Atar then sent a messenger with a white flag to say that he would submit. An agreement was made that Ormuz should be a subject state of the king of Portugal and pay a yearly tribute of fifteen thousand xerafins (£5,575), and that Alboquerque should be at liberty to build and garrison a fortress at any place that he chose. A commanding position at one end of the city was selected, and a commencement was made

with the erection of a stone castle. But Ormuz was not so far subjected as to be altogether at the mercy of the Portuguese. This was seen when Albuquerque demanded that four of his men who had deserted should be given up, which demand was not complied with, as it involved a breach of honour by Coge Atar. Hostilities were then renewed, and much damage was done to the city by its being bombarded. An attempt to cut off the supply of water was next made, and this led to almost constant skirmishing.

Some of Albuquerque's captains objected to the construction of a castle, as being too large a task for such a small force to carry out. They were sent by the king, they said, to cruise in the gulf of Aden and intercept vessels laden with spice bound to the Red sea, not to build a fort in quite another direction; and further, if Socotra was not provided with provisions very shortly, it would certainly be retaken by the Mohamedans. Albuquerque treated their remonstrances with disdain, whereupon three of them, Affonso Lopes da Costa, Manuel Telles, and Antonio do Campo, abandoned him and set sail with their ships for Cochin, where they excused themselves to the viceroy by protesting that Albuquerque was carrying everything with a high hand and disregarding the orders of the king. The desertion of these ships put an end to the occupation of Ormuz, and the castle that had been commenced was seized by Coge Atar. The next trouble was with the crew of the *Flor de la Mar*, the ship commanded by João da Nova. She was the largest Portuguese vessel that had yet been seen in the Indian sea, being of four hundred tons burden, and had belonged to Tristão da Cunha's fleet, from which she had been detached for service with Albuquerque. Her crew now protested that she was a merchantman, not a man of war, and they demanded to be allowed to go on to India. Albuquerque pacified them for a time, but early in March 1508 he permitted them to leave,

and with the two remaining ships of his fleet he sailed for Socotra.

He found the garrison of the fort there in the last stage of distress for want of food, and as he was himself but poorly supplied, he sent the ship commanded by Francisco de Tavora to Melinde for provisions. He then went in the only remaining ship on a cruise to Cape Guardafui, where one of his boats was successful in picking up an Arab vessel from the Maldives that had been becalmed and had lost nearly all her crew from thirst, but had a large quantity of provisions on board. Soon afterwards Francisco de Tavora returned from Melinde, bringing with him two ships under Martim Coelho and Diogo de Mello that he had found there. These ships were laden with supplies, and had been sent by the king to reinforce Albuquerque's fleet, so that he seemed now to be in a good position again. Having strengthened the garrison at Socotra and provided everything necessary for the maintenance of the fort there, he sailed again for Ormuz, which place he reached on the 13th of September 1508 with the four ships under his command.

On the passage he touched at Kalhat (the Calayate of Barros), which he had spared on his former visit, on account of the friendliness and submission of its people. Kalhat was an ancient town, and owed its importance to a pass through the range of mountains that skirted the coast, by which it had communication with a fertile district inland, the most densely populated part of the whole Arabian peninsula. This district was celebrated for its breed of horses, regarded throughout the East as superior to all others, and these were exported through the town on the coast. Provisions of different kinds and some manufactures were also articles of trade, so that the town was a thriving one, though less so than it had been in earlier times. It had one drawback: its water for drinking was too brackish to be used by strangers. The common people were, however, accustomed

to it, and the wealthy residents obtained supplies from another part of the coast by means of boats. The houses of the poor were of wattle and daub or of sundried bricks, and were scantily furnished; but there were some spacious buildings inhabited by merchants and men of rank, that were abodes of luxury, and there was a noble mosque, with a grand dome and elegant minarets.

Kalhat was the most important town subject to the ruler of Ormuz, and as Alboquerque was at war with that state he resolved to destroy it and thus weaken his enemy. And when he determined to do anything of that kind that was within his power, he did it thoroughly, relentlessly. He sent a demand that the governor of the town, who represented the ruler of Ormuz, should appear on board his ship, and when that official declined to comply with the order, knowing it meant imprisonment if not death, he lost no time in making an attack. The inhabitants resisted, but were defeated, and though they rallied and returned to the combat, Kalhat was soon in Alboquerque's possession. The town was sacked and then set on fire, so that when the Portuguese fleet sailed it was a smouldering heap of ruins. So far Alboquerque acted entirely in the spirit of Englishmen as well as Portuguese of his time, and indeed of a century nearer our own day, as any one who reads the account of Cavendish's cruise along the South American coast will observe, but his mutilation of his prisoners by cutting off their ears and noses and then freeing them as a warning to others was an act of barbarity peculiarly his own.

On reaching Ormuz he sent to the government to demand payment of the tribute then due and the removal of obstructions to his completion of the castle he had commenced, but met with decided refusals. He then tried to blockade the place, and succeeded in doing considerable damage to one of the outposts on the mainland, but as his force was so small that if the castle was

completed he had no men to spare for a garrison, he soon abandoned his design and sailed for India.

The zamorin of Calicut and the Mohamedans in all parts of India, finding themselves unable to repel the Portuguese, appealed for assistance to the Mameluke sultan of Egypt, who was stirred to action by religious zeal and by the loss of the lucrative commerce that had once passed through his dominions. On the shore of the gulf of Suez, with timber transported on camels from the Nile, he fitted out a war fleet consisting of five large ships, six galleys, and a few small vessels, which he placed under command of a native of Kurdistan, named Husain and entitled emir, an able naval officer, and sent it to India to operate against the Portuguese. On board this fleet were fifteen hundred soldiers, belonging to all the nationalities of the Levant.

Dom Lourenço d'Almeida, who had been sent by his father to cruise along the coast with two ships and seven small vessels, was at anchor in the port of Chaul* when the emir Husain sailed in and attacked him. He defended himself successfully that afternoon and the whole of the next day, but when a fleet of forty large boats under Melique Az† arrived from Diu to Husain's assistance, the odds were too great against him. On the morning of the third day his ship ran on some obstructions and began to fill with water, but her crew continued to fight desperately. Of over one hundred men on board, all were killed except nineteen who were made prisoners when she was finally overmastered. The young commander—he was not twenty-one years of age—was

* Chaul, or Chowal as written by some English geographers, is a short distance south of the present city of Bombay. The town was about eleven kilometres or seven English miles farther up the inlet than the place where the Portuguese fleet was anchored.

† Melique Az was a Russian by birth, and had been a slave. At this time he was governor of Diu under the king of Cambay with whom he was a favourite.

among the dead. During the action one of his legs was badly hurt by a ball, but he had it hastily bandaged, and then took a seat by the mainmast of his ship and continued to issue orders until he was struck by another ball, when he fell back dead. The other vessels of his fleet made their escape, and off Goa fell in with the three ships that had abandoned Affonso d'Albuquerque, with which they proceeded to Cochin and reported to the viceroy the great disaster of the defeat of his armament and the death of his only son.

For some time after this the Egyptian flag was supreme in the Indian sea, as the viceroy had nothing strong enough to oppose it. It seems strange to us now that such a decisive event in the history of the world as the substitution of European for Mohamedan predominance throughout the whole of the eastern seas should have been dependent upon a few tiny wooden vessels that would hardly be noticed in any seaport of consequence to-day. Yet so it was, for the *Flor de la Mar*, João da Nova's ship, of four hundred tons burden, had been regarded as the most powerful dreadnought afloat would be now until the emir Husain's flagship of equal size and of newer materials made her appearance off the Indian coast.

On the 9th of April 1508 a fleet of thirteen sail, commanded by Jorge d'Aguiar, left the Tagus, eight of which were under orders to return at once with cargoes, and the other five were to cruise off the coast of Arabia. On the passage Jorge d'Aguiar was lost with his ship at the island of Tristão da Cunha, and upon opening the letter of succession it was found that his nephew Duarte de Lemos was named first, so that officer took command of the fleet in the gulf of Aden.

The whole cost of the operations of every kind in the Indian seas had to be covered by tribute received, the king's share of prizes captured, and the profits on spices and other products of the East, so that the trade

could not be interrupted. After shipping all that had been collected at Cochin, and despatching several vessels, of which the first two that left were lost on the passage, on the 20th of November 1508 the viceroy went to Cananor to do the same there, and while thus engaged Affonso d'Albuquerque arrived from Ormuz and produced a commission from the king appointing him captain-general and governor of India,* as Dom Francisco d'Almeida's term of office had expired. The viceroy was naturally reluctant to lay down his office before the Egyptian fleet had been destroyed, and as the captains who had deserted from Albuquerque pledged themselves to support him in resistance, he refused to transfer the authority. Altercations took place between them, and Albuquerque was at length confined as a prisoner, while for nearly a year after his arrival at Cananor the viceroy Dom Francisco d'Almeida retained supreme control over the Portuguese in India.

A fleet believed to be sufficiently strong to contend with the emir Husain in battle was at length got together. It consisted of six large ships, six small square-rigged ships, five caravels with lateen sails, two galleys, and a brigantine. There were twelve hundred Portuguese sailors and soldiers on board, and over four hundred natives of Malabar accompanied them. The viceroy himself was in command, and hoisted his flag in João da Nova's ship, the famous *Flor de la Mar*. As Husain's headquarters were known to be Diu, the fleet steered northward along the Malabar coast.

At Anjediva water was taken on board, and Dabul, a large and important town a short distance south of Chaul, was next visited. There was much shipping belonging to Mohamedans at this place, so the viceroy was tempted to attack it. The inhabitants tried to resist,

* There was a difference in rank between a viceroy and a captain-general and governor (*capitão mor e governador*), but their authority and duties were exactly the same.

but ineffectually, and if the numbers given by Barros are correct, nearly a hundred fell for every Portuguese, sixteen in all, slain in the conflict. Dabul was taken, and when the shipping had been burned, permission was given to the soldiers and seamen to plunder the town. But suddenly reflecting that the spoil would probably be so great as to prevent the men from having any inclination to go farther, D'Almeida ordered the place to be set on fire. This was done, the flames spread quickly among the wooden houses and shot up along the sides of the great mosque, and Dabul passed utterly out of existence, nothing but heaps of smouldering ruins being left when the Portuguese withdrew.

The fleet arrived off Diu on the 2nd of February 1509. The emir Husain was there, and with his ships were no fewer than two hundred small vessels, belonging to Melique Az and the zamorin of Calicut. When the mist rose on the morning of their arrival the Portuguese were astonished to see before them a stately walled town, with its towers and buildings resembling one in Spain.* It was much grander in appearance than any on the coast of Malabar, and it causes no wonder to read that among those who looked on it were some whose hearts sank within them at the prospect of attacking so strong a town and so vast a naval array. But there were others who declared that the greater the danger the greater the glory and meed of success, and above all was the viceroy Dom Francisco d'Almeida burning with desire to avenge the death of his only son and to decide once for all whether Christ or Mohamed was to rule in the eastern seas.

A council of all the leading officers was called on board the flagship, and a plan of battle was agreed upon. Husain's fleet was drawn up in the narrow strait

* The word *Hespanha* or Spain then signified the whole Iberian peninsula, in which were the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, Portugal, &c.

between the island of Diu and the mainland of Gujarat, the large ships in front to form a bulwark, and the smaller vessels and proas behind to serve as a reservoir of fighting men from which assistance could be obtained wherever it was needed. It was evident that he would endeavour to draw the Portuguese ships to that side of the strait which was commanded by the artillery on the city wall, and this was to be carefully avoided. That night few, if any, men slept on board the viceroy's fleet, so anxious were all as to the morrow.

Between nine and ten in the morning of the 3rd of February 1509 the sea breeze set in, and the Portuguese advanced to the attack. Nuno Vaz Pereira, who had once been captain of Sofala, in the *Espirito Santo*, of three hundred tons burden and carrying one hundred and twenty men, with his battle flag flying and his trumpets sounding, led the way to within range of Husain's largest ship. Jorge de Mello Pereira in the *Belem* with the same number of men followed in the wake of the *Espirito Santo*, but through some mismanagement of the sails dropped out of the line, when Pedro Barreto de Magalhães in a large Indian built ship took the second place, and the *Belem* fell in as third. Next was Francisco de Tavora in the *Rey Grande*, and following him were the other captains in the order that had been arranged. About eleven o'clock the first broadside was fired, and for some time the battle was an artillery duel, in which much damage was done to the small vessels and proas in the rear of the Egyptian line. Then the large ships grappled, and a close combat commenced, in which the Portuguese firearms, clumsy as they were, were decidedly superior to the arrows of the enemy.

The emir Husain was slightly wounded and went ashore, while the viceroy D'Almeida was in the thickest of the battle, which may be taken as a fair representation of the spirit of the two combatants. The proas of Calicut had suffered severely, and now their officers lost

heart and hastened away up the strait and round the western side of the island back to the place from which they had come. The afternoon advanced, the Egyptian flagship was taken, but the battle still continued till the Europeans were victors along the whole line. A vast sheet of flame rose from the Egyptian and Indian ships, all of which, with the exception only of six that he added to his own fleet, were burned by the viceroy's order, as he had no men to work them. The Egyptian armada was not only defeated, it was annihilated.

The Portuguese loss in killed in this decisive battle was only from thirty to forty men, but among those who fell were several officers of note. Nuno Vaz Pereira was one: he received a mortal wound from an arrow, from which he died four days later. Their wounded numbered over three hundred. On the other side more than fifteen hundred are said by Barros to have perished, among whom were no fewer than four hundred and fifty Egyptian soldiers.

This battle assured the supremacy of the Portuguese in the Indian seas, for until the appearance of other Europeans there they never again had an enemy so powerful on the water to contend with, though in 1538 the sultan of Turkey sent a strong fleet against them. The effect of D'Almeida's victory at Diu was that for nearly a century the commerce of the East was as much a monopoly of the monarchs of Portugal as it had previously been of the Mohamedans.

After the destruction of the Egyptian fleet Melique Az sent a messenger to the viceroy to endeavour to conciliate him and arrange terms of peace. The messenger was well received, for Dom Francisco did not feel himself sufficiently strong to attack Diu, nor was there any urgent motive for him to do so. It was therefore easily arranged that the Portuguese prisoners who had been in the custody of Melique Az since the capture of Dom Lourenço d'Almeida's ship, and who had been very well

treated by him, should be surrendered; that all artillery and munitions of war of every kind in Diu belonging to the emir Husain should be handed over to the Portuguese, and all other property belonging to him be destroyed; and that the fleet should be provided with provisions, which would be paid for. These conditions were duly and quickly carried out, and after despatching Dom Antonio de Noronha in his ship with supplies for the garrison of Fort São Miguel on the island of Socotra, the viceroy sailed on the 10th of February to return to Cochin. On the passage he touched at Chaul, and made the ruler of that place tributary to Portugal.

At this time the king resolved no longer to leave the control of affairs in the whole of the East in the hands of a single man, but to have one captain-general for that part of the coast of the Indian ocean extending from Sofala to Diu, and another for the coast from Diu to Cape Comorin. Practically a third government was created also by the command, independent of the viceroy, of a fleet of four ships being given to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, with instructions to ascertain whether cloves, ginger, and silver were to be obtained at Madagascar, and then to explore the coast of Malacca and establish a factory there. This fleet left the Tagus on the 5th of April 1508.

On the 4th of August Diogo Lopes reached Port São Sebastião in the island of Madagascar, where he ascertained that the rumour of cloves being a product of the country originated in some having been obtained from a junk wrecked on the coast, and that there was very little ginger and no silver to be had there. On the 20th of April 1509 he reached Cochin, and as his ships were greatly in need of repair he caused them to be hove down after everything had been removed from them. Early in September he left Cochin with five ships, one having been added to his fleet by the viceroy, and safely made his way to Malacca. This town was occupied

chiefly by Mohamedans, and was then a place of great importance, being the emporium for the products of Japan, China, and the whole of the islands lying to the east and south-eastward in the Pacific ocean. Permission to open a factory was obtained from the sultan, Mohamed by name, who was the ruler not only of the town, but of a large district around it, and some buildings along the shore were acquired for the purpose. An officer named Ruy de Araujo with a staff of assistants, twenty-four in number, took charge, goods were landed, and a brisk trade was opened.

Matters went on in this promising manner for forty days, when it was suddenly discovered that the Mohamedan ruler and the traders of that creed had formed a conspiracy to destroy the ships and massacre the crews, and the proof was so evident that the chief captain at once ordered the fleet to put to sea, leaving the factor Ruy de Araujo and his assistants behind. They were made prisoners, and the contents of the factory were seized and confiscated by the ruler of Malacca.

Diogo Lopes was compelled to destroy one of his ships for want of men to work her, another was wrecked, two he sent to Cochin to take in cargoes, and with the one remaining he proceeded to the coast of Travancore and thence to Portugal to report what had occurred and to describe the advantages which Malacca possessed as a trading station.

When tidings of the appearance of an Egyptian fleet in the Indian sea reached Portugal, the king resolved to send out a very powerful armada, and for this purpose fifteen large ships were made ready and three thousand men embarked in them, with an ample supply of everything needed for war. The command of this fleet was entrusted to the marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho, who had great power given to him, as he was to be independent of the captain-general from Diu to Cape Comorin. He was specially instructed to reduce Calicut, and as ad-

vices were to hand that Affonso d'Albuquerque and Dom Francisco d'Almeida were at variance, he was to see that the former was properly installed as captain-general. On the 12th of March 1509 this fleet sailed from the Tagus, and owing to unfavourable weather only reached Mozambique on the 26th of August. As the season for crossing to India was far advanced, the marshal remained at Mozambique only two days, while Antonio de Saldanha and his attendants, whose destination was Sofala, were set ashore, and a little water was taken on board. One of the ships remained behind, and only crossed over to India in the following year.

On the marshal's arrival at Cananor he found Affonso d'Albuquerque a prisoner in the factory. He immediately released him, and conveyed him to Cochin, where Dom Francisco d'Almeida, seeing that further resistance would be useless, resigned his authority. Between the political opinions of these two high officials there was a great difference. Dom Francisco d'Almeida favoured the maintenance of a powerful fleet to command the sea, and was opposed to the occupation of territory, as too great a drain upon the little kingdom of Portugal. Affonso d'Albuquerque was imbued with imperialistic ideas: he desired a great territorial dominion, which he believed could be easily maintained, owing to the rivalries and feuds among the various nationalities in the East.

Dom Francisco d'Almeida sailed from Cochin on the 19th of November 1509 in the ship *Garça*, of which Diogo d'Unhos was master, with the *Belem*, commanded by Jorge de Mello Pereira, and the *Santa Cruz*, commanded by Lourenço de Brito, in his company. On board these vessels were also the officials who had served under him in India, whose appointments having been for three years only, were now filled by others. Having touched at Cananor to take in some spices, he made Mozambique next, where he was detained twenty-four days, while a leak in the *Belem* was being repaired. Continuing his

passage with favourable weather, he doubled the Cape of Good Hope safely, which gave him much satisfaction. It was an age of superstition, and certain individuals in Cochin had predicted that he would never get so far on his way home, which had caused him some uneasiness, but his mind was now relieved and he thanked God that their utterances had proved false.

As the ships were in want of water they put into Table Bay, where a party of men went on shore with empty casks to fill them. Some Hottentots were found on the beach, from whom a few head of cattle were obtained in barter for pieces of calico and iron, and the trade was conducted in such a friendly manner that twelve or thirteen Portuguese subsequently requested and obtained leave to accompany the savages to their kraal, which was at a distance of five or six kilometres, probably on or near the site of the present village of Mowbray. At the kraal they were well treated, and some cattle were bartered, but on the way back a quarrel arose, from what cause it is impossible to say, as the accounts given by the early Portuguese historians are conflicting in this respect, though there is little doubt that it had its origin in a misunderstanding. At any rate a servant of D'Almeida and one of Jorge de Mello Pereira, with some others, were severely handled in the fray, and on their return presented themselves before their masters with their faces covered with blood.

At once a clamour for vengeance was raised by most of the officers, though Lourenço de Brito, Jorge de Mello Pereira, and Martim Coelho were of opinion that no notice should be taken of the matter, as very likely their own people were at fault; but the others maintained that it was necessary to imbue the savages with respect for Europeans, and prevailed upon the late viceroy to consent to an attack upon the Hottentot kraal. Accordingly before dawn of the morning of the 1st of March 1510 about a hundred and fifty men

embarked in the boats and were rowed to the head of the bay, where they landed on the sandy beach not far from the site of the present Fort Craig. A few were armed with crossbows, but most of them with only swords and lances, and they were led by D'Almeida in person, though he went somewhat unwillingly. As he left his ship he exclaimed: "Where are you taking sixty years?" that being his age at the time. Diogo d'Unhos, master of the *Garça*, was left in charge of the boats, with instructions to wait where he was until the return of the party.

The Portuguese reached the kraal without difficulty, and seized the cattle and some children, when the Hottentots, about a hundred and seventy in number, attacked them with stones and assagais of fire-hardened wood, against which their weapons proved useless, so they were obliged to retreat in disorder towards the boats. The Hottentots followed them, and increased their confusion by whistling the oxen in between to act as a protection and hurling assagais from behind with deadly effect. Many were killed on the way to the beach, and those who arrived there were dismayed to find that owing to a breeze that had set in Diogo d'Unhos had returned to the ships with the boats. On the sandy shore of the bay, too fatigued to attempt to escape by running towards the watering place where they could more easily be taken off,—as many of the soldiers were doing,—Dom Francisco d'Almeida and several others of high rank stood at the mercy of the incensed Hottentots. The royal standard was committed to the care of Jorge de Mello Pereira, who, however, was unable to save it, and just after handing it to him the late viceroy, already wounded with sticks and stones, fell pierced in the throat with an assagai.

By this time there had perished the captains Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, Lourenço de Brito, Manuel Telles, Martim Coelho, Antonio do Campo, Francisco Coutinho,

Pedro Teixeira, Fernão Pereira, and Gaspar d'Almeida. Diogo Pires, who had been Dom Lourenço d'Almeida's tutor, was at a little distance when he heard that Dom Francisco had been slain. Desiring to die by his side, he made his way to the corpse, and fell as he had wished. The slaughter still went on, but the boats were hastening towards the shore, and presently those who survived were rescued, many of them having waded out till up to their necks in water. On the shore and along the path to the Hottentot kraal lay sixty-five corpses, among them twelve of men of high rank or position, and hardly any who escaped were unwounded.

In the evening of the same day, as the Hottentots had returned to their kraal, Jorge de Mello Pereira landed with Diogo d'Unhos and a party of men to bury the dead. The corpses had been stripped of clothing, and that of Dom Francisco d'Almeida had been cut open. Those lying on the beach were hastily interred, but the others were not sought, as time was wanting and to move inland was considered dangerous. Early on the following morning the three ships set sail for Portugal.

In 1512 Christovão de Brito, when returning homeward, put into the watering place of Saldanha to visit the grave of his brother, who had fallen with D'Almeida. Diogo d'Unhos was then master of his ship, and he pointed out the place where the bodies were buried. De Brito raised a mound of earth and stones over it, and placed a wooden cross at the top, the only monument that it was in his power to erect in the time at his disposal. It would be interesting to know the exact site, but the description of the locality given by the Portuguese writers is so defective that it cannot be fixed more accurately than as being close to the sandy beach near the mouth of Salt River.

When Affonso d'Albuquerque became captain-general, 5th of November 1509, Portugal was not in possession of any territory on the eastern shore of the Indian sea.

She had fortified factories in Cochin and Cananor, but outside the walls of those factories she exercised no jurisdiction whatever. The ruler of Chaul had consented to pay an annual tribute, though no visible representative of the suzerain power resided in his domain.

On the African coast Portugal seemed to have a firmer foothold. She was in actual possession of the port and village of Sofala and of the island of Mozambique,* she had forts and garrisons in the town of Kilwa and on the island of Socotra, and several of the small Arab states were tributary to her. Duarte de Lemos was in independent command on this coast, with his headquarters in Fort São Miguel on the island of Socotra, and his fleet was engaged in patrolling the gulf of Aden and preventing ships from entering or leaving the Red sea.

The marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho, who was in independent command of a powerful fleet, informed Affonso d'Albuquerque that he intended to attack Calicut, having been ordered to do so by the king. Nothing could have pleased Albuquerque more, and it was arranged that as soon as some ships were laden with spices to return to Portugal, the attack should be made by them jointly.

In the evening of the 2nd of January 1510 the fleet arrived before Calicut, and early next morning sixteen hundred Portuguese soldiers and six hundred enlisted Indians landed and soon cleared away some obstacles along the shore. The zamorin was not there at the time. His palace, which was in a palm grove at a distance of three or four kilometres, was the object aimed at by the division of the force under the marshal. The day was extremely hot, and the men became faint, but at length the marshal reached the palace and took possession of it. After a short rest, officers and soldiers alike began to plunder, and soon became a disorderly rabble. Meantime

* In order to keep events in South-Eastern Africa continuous and together, the account of the occupation of these places has not yet been given, but it will be found in Chapters IX and X.

forces far outnumbering them were assembling, and began to assail them. Intelligence of the dangerous position in which they were was communicated to Alboquerque, who was burning part of the town, and he, leaving two hundred men as a rearguard to keep open a line of retreat, went to the marshal's assistance.

An attempt was made to reach the shore, but little or no resistance could be offered to the enemy, who hurled darts upon them from every point of vantage. Eighty were killed, among whom were the marshal Dom Fernando Coutinho and seven officers of rank, and over three hundred were wounded, one of them being Affonso d'Alboquerque, who was carried faint and bleeding into a boat. Thus the attack upon Calicut ended in a great disaster, but it strengthened the position of Affonso d'Alboquerque by leaving the marshal's fleet under his control.

The ships that were under orders to return to Europe with cargoes were now despatched, and two were sent to Socotra with provisions for the fortress there. Dom Antonio de Noronha was transferred from Socotra to Cananor, but was lost on the passage. His place at Socotra was filled by the transfer of Pedro Ferreira from Kilwa.

Affonso d'Alboquerque had received instructions from the king to collect the force at his disposal, and with it to join Duarte de Lemos at Socotra, when they were jointly to build a fortress within the entrance to the Red sea, to prevent the egress or ingress of vessels belonging to Mohamedans. Instead of doing so, he convened a council of all his captains, when it was decided that the best thing to be done for the service of the king would be to go to Ormuz and complete the castle that had been commenced there, in order to forestall the shah of Persia, who would probably wish to be master of a place of such importance to the commerce of his dominions. Accordingly a fleet of twenty-one ships of

different sizes was got together, in which sixteen hundred men embarked, and at the end of January 1510 sail was set to the northward from Cochin. At Cananor two captains and some of the crews of two ships that had recently left with cargoes for Europe, and that had been wrecked near by, were taken on board.

At the river of Onor the Hindu corsair Timoja supplied the fleet with provisions, and so strongly advised Alboquerque to attack Goa, which was then in a very unsettled condition, offering at the same time to give all the assistance in his power, that the Portuguese commander at once consented, in the conviction that such a position would be of greater value even than Ormuz. On the 17th of February 1510 the fleet together with Timoja's flotilla arrived at the place to be attacked.

Goa was an ancient Hindu city, but had recently been conquered and occupied by Mohamedan invaders under Yusuf Adil Shah (Hidalção of Barros), the founder of the powerful state of Bijapur, who had made it the principal seaport of his territory. It was situated on an island enclosed by two rivers and a creek, and was next to Calicut the most important commercial station on the western coast of Hindostan. It was about midway between the gulf of Cambay and Cape Comorin.

The Hindu residents received Alboquerque with demonstrations of joy, and the Mohamedan garrison in the fort was too small to offer serious resistance. The Portuguese thus became masters of the city without bloodshed, and as they treated all classes of the people fairly well things settled down at once quietly under their government. They busied themselves particularly in strengthening the old fortifications, by which the place was made nearly impregnable.

But Yusuf Adil Shah, the sovereign of the territory in which Goa was situated, raised an army of sixty thousand men, and early in May appeared before the city. The Mohamedan residents rose to aid him, so that

the Portuguese were reduced to great straits. They defended themselves valiantly for twenty days, during which time they committed great cruelties upon such Mohamedans as were in their power and detained as prisoners the young wives and daughters of the men whom they put to death, but on the 31st of May they were obliged to evacuate the fortifications and retire to their ships, which were lying at anchor in one of the rivers. The monsoon at this time of the year caused a bar of sand to be formed at the mouth of the river, so that they could not get out until August, and during the interval they were closely besieged and were almost constantly fighting, besides which they suffered very severely through want of food. At length the bar became passable for small vessels, two of which together with Timoja's flotilla were sent to Anjediva with the sick, over three hundred in number. A little later the fleet got away, and to the great joy of Alboquerque and every one on board a couple of hours later fell in with four ships on their outward passage from Lisbon.

These ships were under Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos, and had sailed from the Tagus on the 12th of March 1510 for Malacca. The occurrences there were unknown in Portugal when Diogo Mendes sailed, and his instructions were to reinforce Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, for which purpose his ships were abundantly supplied with necessities of all kinds. He was quite independent of Alboquerque, who, however, persuaded him to assist in the recovery of Goa. Shortly afterwards six ships under Gonçalo de Sequeira arrived, that had sailed from the Tagus on the 16th of March, but as they were under orders to take in cargoes and return at once, they could not be detained.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONQUEST OF GOA, MALACCA, ORMUZ, AND COLOMBO.

WHILE Alboquerque was organising an expedition to recover Goa, Duarte de Lemos arrived from Socotra. He had lost so many men from sickness and had so little war material left that he could no longer be of service on the Arabian coast. On his passage he touched at Ormuz, and received from the authorities there the fifteen thousand xerafins then due as tribute. Alboquerque made him commodore of four ships laden with spices, with which he returned to Portugal, when the East African command was once more united with that of India.

All the ships and men that were available having been collected, Alboquerque left Cananor with twenty-three sail, including the four under Diogo Mendes, and on the 20th of November 1510 cast anchor at Goa. He had fifteen hundred Portuguese and three hundred Indian soldiers under his command. The large army under Yusuf Adil Shah was engaged in war elsewhere, but there was a garrison in the fortress, which together with the Mohamedans capable of bearing arms in the place, numbered over nine thousand men.

At dawn on the 25th Alboquerque made the attack. A line of stockades had been erected along the river, and these, though stoutly defended, were taken, when the routed Mohamedans made a rush for the fortress, and were closely followed by the Portuguese, who cut down many of them. Pursued and pursuers entered the fortress together, and there a hand to hand fight took place, in which on one or two occasions the Mohamedans seemed

to be getting the advantage, but which ended in the complete victory of the Portuguese. The Mohamedan soldiers fled to the river and attempted to cross it, but many were drowned, and others that got over were killed by the Hindus on that side, who were exasperated against them. The Portuguese loss was only between forty and fifty killed, the number of wounded is not mentioned.

All opposition ceased, and Goa was at Albuquerque's mercy. He gave orders for a general massacre of the Mohamedan population, men, women, and children, only excepting some of the grown up girls and young wives, whom he reserved as consorts for the soldiers that he intended to colonise the place with. This butchery was carried out, one of Timoja's captains assisting heartily in it. Then for three days the houses of the victims were given up to the soldiers to be pillaged, and rich was the booty that they carried away. They had taken part in a dangerous enterprise, and now their reward was great.

Albuquerque lost no time in re-establishing Goa as a Portuguese possession. The first thing done was to give honourable interment to the bodies of those of his followers who had fallen, and to throw the corpses of some six thousand Mohamedans into the river to be devoured by crocodiles or to be swept out to sea. Then the construction of new fortifications and the strengthening of those already existing was taken in hand, the tombstones in the Mohamedan cemetery being used for this purpose. Next permission was given to several hundreds of the Portuguese soldiers to become colonists, the captive young women were baptized * and distributed among them as wives, houses and lands were assigned to them, and the

* How their consent was obtained we are not told, but it may be assumed that under the circumstances in which they were placed they would not offer much resistance or require much instruction. As their comfort would certainly be increased by alliance with Portuguese husbands, they may soon have become reconciled to their fate.

means were provided of obtaining comfortable livelihoods. This arrangement was the commencement of a practice that soon became common, and that resulted in the large Eurasian element of the later population of Portuguese India. The men who settled in Goa and subsequently in other towns were lost to the mother country, but they saved the government the cost of maintaining as many soldiers, for they practically formed part of the garrisons, and their fidelity could always be depended upon.

A form of civil government was established, in which the customs of the Hindus were respected, and every possible effort was made to attract commerce, even that of Mohamedans, to Goa. A large church was built, which was dedicated to Saint Catherine, the city having been taken on the 25th of November, the day of the festival of that saint. Dockyards in which ships could be repaired or even built were constructed, and lastly a mint was established, in which gold, silver, and copper coins were struck.

From this time onward Goa was the seat of government of the Portuguese in India, the base of naval operations, the emporium of commerce, and the centre of religious work. It speedily became a splendid city, with magnificent public buildings, churches, and convents, and was known throughout the eastern world as Goa Dourada, Golden Goa. The territory under Portuguese government comprised at first only the districts of Ilhas, Bardez, and Salsette, and was therefore much smaller than it became in later years.

Diogo Mendes now expressed a wish to carry out the king's instructions by proceeding to Malacca with his squadron, but Albuquerque would not consent to his doing so, on the ground that his force was too weak for that purpose and that it was needed for another and more important object. Thereupon Mendes and his captains tried to get away privately, but were arrested,

and the captains were sent as prisoners to Portugal, though Albuquerque had legally no jurisdiction over them. It was a high-handed proceeding, which could only be justified by necessity, but the captain-general and governor of India was a man who did not hesitate to incur responsibility in a time of need.

Having made the necessary arrangements for the government of Goa, including those for raising a revenue, Albuquerque provided for the defence of the place by stationing in the fortress a garrison of three hundred and twenty infantry and eighty cavalry under the captain Rodrigo Rabello de Castello-Branco, and detaching a sufficient number of ships to guard the coast and keep open communication with Cananor and Cochin. He then prepared to attack Aden, in accordance with orders from the king, and with this object in view he sent Diogo Fernandes de Beja with three ships to Socotra to break down the fort there, which had proved to be useless, and to embark the garrison. The squadron was to wait for him in the gulf of Aden until the end of May, when, if he should not arrive, it was to winter at Ormuz and then proceed to India.

Having collected his force and provisioned his ships, Albuquerque sailed from Goa for Aden. But by this time the contrary monsoon was setting in, and he was obliged to put about and return. When the anchors were dropped he called a council of his captains, and it was resolved to lose no time, but to proceed at once to Malacca and settle matters there. On the way Cananor and Cochin were visited, and on the 2nd of May 1511 Albuquerque sailed from the last named of these places with a fleet of nineteen vessels, large and small, having on board eight hundred Portuguese and six hundred Indian soldiers. It was always easy to enlist men in one part of India for service against another part, and it was this which gave the Portuguese an opportunity to obtain predominance over all.

On the passage Alboquerque touched at the port of Pedir on the northern coast of the island of Sumatra. Here six Mohamedans accompanied by a Portuguese named João Viegas came off to his ship, and offered to supply such provisions as the place afforded. The Portuguese had an interesting story to tell. He was one of the twenty-four individuals connected with the factory at Malacca, who had been made prisoners with Ruy de Araujo, and who had been very harshly treated by the sultan Mohamed. A Hindu merchant named Ninachetu had taken compassion on them and had befriended them, by whose assistance he and eight others had made their escape and had reached Pedir, where they had received much kindness from the ruler of the place. A short visit was made to another port in Sumatra, and then, continuing on his route, on the 1st of July 1511 Alboquerque cast anchor before Malacca with his fleet intact, except one small vessel that was lost on the way.

Malacca is a very insignificant place now compared with what it was in Alboquerque's time, for the great trade route no longer has its centre there. As he saw it, the city extended for six or seven kilometres along the shore, though it did not reach far inland. The houses were built of wood and were thatched, but a great mosque and one or two other edifices were of stone. A river, over which was a large wooden bridge, separated the city into two parts. The majority of the inhabitants were Mohamedan Malays, but there were little colonies of traders from almost every part of the East, each of which occupied a particular locality and had its own chief. There were about thirty thousand men capable of bearing arms in the city, and in addition to the ordinary weapons of long daggers, darts, bows and arrows, and blowtubes, they were provided with artillery, though inferior to that of the Portuguese. At anchor before the city was a vast fleet of every variety of vessel used in the Indian seas, Chinese junks, Arab dhows

or pangayos, decked proas, and many others of different shapes and sizes.

Albuquerque's first demand was for the surrender to him of Ruy de Araujo and the other prisoners. The sultan Mohamed promised to give up all that were alive, but he wished to enter into a treaty of peace and friendship before doing so, evidently intending to keep them as hostages. Araujo, however, managed to send a message to Albuquerque that their lives were not to be considered in the matter, upon which some armed boats were sent to set fire to several buildings along the shore and some shipping, as a demonstration of what the Portuguese fleet was capable of doing. This had the desired effect, for the prisoners were released, and rejoined their countrymen. From the tale that they told of the cruelties inflicted upon them in order to induce them to profess the faith of Islam, it would appear that Mohamed was almost as ferocious towards his captives as Albuquerque himself.

The captain-general now demanded the cession of a suitable plot of ground on which to build a strongly fortified factory, and the payment of three hundred thousand cruzados (£142,850) as damages for the goods seized in 1509 and the cost of the expeditions of Diogo Lopes de Sequeira and his own. These severe terms were not complied with, so on the 25th of July Albuquerque landed with his little army and made himself master of the bridge over the river. He could not long retain it, however, as many of his men were wounded by poisoned arrows and small darts from blowtubes, so he retired to his ships. But now he found means to secure the friendship of the Chinese and the neutrality of the Javanese sections of the community, both of which were of importance. On the 8th of August he renewed the attack, and by means of bringing up a junk, from the lofty deck-house of which the bridge was commanded, he managed to keep possession of this almost impregnable position in

the very heart of the city. From it sorties were made day after day, in which great damage was done to property and many of the enemy were killed, until at length the sultan Mohamed and his army fled in despair to the thickets of the interior, and Malacca was in the hands of the Portuguese.

Albuquerque then gave his soldiers leave in turns to plunder certain parts of the city, and during three days the work of pillage was continued. But as the Malay merchants had removed their most valuable goods while the skirmishing was going on, the spoil that the soldiers secured was worth only about £25,000, which soon found its way over the gambling tables into the pockets of a few of the luckiest or the most adroit. The property of the sultan was reserved for the king, that of neutrals was respected, and a guard under Ruy de Araujo was stationed in the house of the Hindu merchant Ninachetu, who had befriended the Portuguese captives, to protect it from harm. Ninachetu himself was appointed chief of the Hindu community, with large administrative and judicial power.

The next thing taken in hand was the construction of a strong fortress. The sultan Mohamed had owned some three thousand slaves, and these were scattered about in a condition of extreme want. Albuquerque issued a proclamation calling upon them to come in and get rations of food, and all the able-bodied men that presented themselves were claimed as having become the property of the king of Portugal and were set to work. Stone ready trimmed was furnished by the cemeteries, and so the fortress, which was named A Famosa, The Famous, speedily arose. As soon as the cannon were mounted on its walls, a church, dedicated to our Lady of the Annunciation (Nossa Senhora da Annunciada), was built.

Great as was the amount of the commerce of Malacca, it had been conducted previously by means of barter, the only coins in use being pieces of tin. Gold and silver

were plentiful, but were disposed of only as bullion by weight. Alboquerque made a great improvement upon this system by establishing a mint, in which gold, silver, and copper coins were struck for local use. Tin was a product of the country, and the mines, which had belonged to the sultan, now became the property of the king of Portugal.

Mohamed with a considerable number of followers, when obliged to abandon the city, had taken refuge in thickets, but their supplies of food soon failed, when they were reduced to great distress. A quarrel arose between the sultan and his son and heir, Alodim by name, each accusing the other of being the cause of the trouble, and this greatly weakened Mohamed's power, so that Alboquerque no longer regarded him as a formidable opponent. The Javanese headman who had been favoured by Alboquerque on account of his neutrality during the war, was now, however, detected in corresponding with Alodim and committing some other offences, for which he and the male members of his family were brought to trial before a Portuguese court, were found guilty, and sentenced to lose their lives. His wife offered gold to the value of one hundred thousand cruzados (£47,616 16s. 8d.) and to withdraw with the whole family from Malacca to Java if the sentence was remitted, but Alboquerque declined the offer, and on the 27th of December 1511 the condemned men were put to death.

An expedition was fitted out to explore Banda and the Moluccas, where it was ascertained that the choicest spices were procured. From many eastern potentates embassies were sent to Malacca to desire peace and friendship with the Portuguese, some of them bringing rich presents for King Manuel, the success of whose arms astonished and overawed them. These embassies were well received, and ambassadors were sent by Alboquerque in return, so that very shortly the commerce of Malacca was as great as it had been before, as encouragement

and complete protection were given to all who came as friends.

The captain-general was by this time convinced that it was impossible to exterminate the Mohamedans in the vast territories occupied by them in the Indian seas. He therefore entirely changed his policy regarding them, and as money to meet the expense of his administration and his expeditions was greatly needed, he resolved to obtain it chiefly by trading licenses and safe conducts granted to coasting vessels, which would also serve the purpose of increasing the commerce of Goa and Malacca. Mohamedans, Hindus, or indeed men of any religion could obtain licenses and safe conducts by paying for them; a system which pressed less heavily upon them than that of the native rulers, and helped to reconcile them to Portuguese supremacy.

The government of Malacca was provided for by the appointment of an ample staff of officials, but each foreign community was left in the enjoyment of its own customs. Ruy de Brito Patalim was stationed in the fortress as captain, with a garrison of over three hundred men, and a fleet of ten vessels was detached under Fernão Peres de Andrade to guard the coast.

Having made all necessary arrangements for the good government and safety of Malacca, Albuquerque prepared to return to Goa. The merchants, who felt themselves safe under his strong hand, were very unwilling for him to leave, but he explained to them that they would still be under his protection and that he must look after other places as well. He embarked in the *Flor de la Mar*, which was laden with the richest spoils of Malacca and the presents of eastern potentates to the king, and with two other Portuguese ships and a chartered junk, set sail for Cochin. When still in the strait one night the *Flor de la Mar* struck on a shoal, and as she was old and rotten, soon began to break up. It was with difficulty that those on board could be transferred to another

of the ships, and the extremely valuable cargo was lost. The Javanese in the junk, who were witnesses of the disaster, rose against the few Portuguese on board, put them to death, and sailed away with their prize, so that with only two ships the captain-general reached Cochin.

Upon his arrival there he learned that soon after his departure for Malacca a powerful army had arrived in the neighbourhood of Goa, and was trying to get possession of that city in the name of the youth who in December 1510 had succeeded his father Yusuf Adil Shah as sovereign of Bijapur, that there had been constant war ever since, that in a sortie the captain Rodrigo Rabello had been killed, and that the enemy had built a strong fortress outside the city to command the inland entrance into it. The defenders of Goa had been reinforced by the arrival of Diogo Fernandes de Beja with the garrison of Socotra, the crews of three ships under João Serrão, that sailed from the Tagus in August 1510 and had been engaged in exploring part of the coast of Madagascar, and by the crew of a very large ship belonging to a fleet of six sail under Dom Garcia de Noronha, that left Lisbon in April 1511. These reinforcements had enabled Goa to hold out, but there was great scarcity of food, and assistance was urgently needed.

Albuquerque was helpless at the moment, but presently the arrival at Cochin of the remainder of Dom Garcia de Noronha's fleet, followed by eight ships under Jorge de Mello Pereira and four under Garcia de Sousa, that sailed from the Tagus in March 1512, put him in possession of a strong force, with which he hastened to the relief of Goa. There was some hard fighting against the large army opposed to him, but at length the hostile fortress was almost reduced, when the general of the army of Bijapur hoisted a white flag and asked for peace. Terms were granted by Albuquerque, one of which was the surrender of all horses and munitions of war of every

kind, another that some renegade deserters were to be delivered up on condition that their lives should be spared. Alboquerque kept the letter of his agreement, but he caused the unfortunate wretches to be mutilated in such a manner that they became hardly human in appearance. One of them, named Fernão Lopes, was set ashore on the island of Saint Helena, with a negro and some live stock presented to him by the captains of the fleet in which he was sent from India, and he was thereafter of much use to the crews of ships that touched there. He made a garden, and bred pigs, goats, and poultry. After leading a solitary life for several years, he proceeded by way of Portugal to Rome to obtain plenary absolution for his offences, and then returned to Saint Helena, where he was still living when Barros wrote his history. He was thus the first inhabitant of that island.

The army of Bijapur retired from the neighbourhood of Goa, the fortifications were thoroughly repaired, and trade was encouraged to return to the city. Far and near the rulers of various states now sent ambassadors to Goa to enter into treaties of peace and friendship with the Portuguese, some of them bringing costly presents with them. This was what Alboquerque most desired, and they were received with every token of satisfaction. Among them was one from the ruler of Abyssinia, who was believed to be the Prester John of earlier times. He was forwarded to Lisbon, and, though his credentials were unsatisfactory, his visit led to the despatch of an embassy under Dom Rodrigo de Lima to Abyssinia, which brought that country into relationship with Europe. The zamorin too at this time renewed his efforts to conclude peace with the Portuguese, but as Alboquerque insisted upon his giving ground on which to build a fortified factory in the most commanding part of his capital, nothing came of the negotiations.

The next enterprise of Alboquerque, undertaken by command of the king, was an attempt to get possession

of Aden, and with it to close the Red sea to commerce by Mohamedans. Having made the necessary preparations, on the 18th of February 1513 he sailed from Goa with a fleet of twenty ships of different sizes, having on board seventeen hundred Portuguese and eight hundred Indian soldiers.

At Socotra he took in water, and then proceeded to Aden. The town was protected by a wall on the side facing the sea, and by steep ridges, on which were fortifications, behind and on the sides. The site was like half a basin. The governor received him with friendly words, but would not consent to his entry with a strong armed force, in other words to perfect submission. The next morning Albuquerque landed his troops, who carried scaling ladders with them, but in wading ashore from the boats the arquebusiers got their powder wet, so that part of the army was practically without weapons. Some of the scaling ladders proved to be too short, and others broke down under the weight of the men who crowded upon them, but a few individuals gained the top of the wall. They, however, were easily repulsed, and those who were not killed had a difficulty in escaping. The Portuguese were discomfited, and were obliged to retire to their ships, without the power of doing any other damage than destroying all the vessels belonging to Mohamedans in the port. Albuquerque realised that it would need at least four thousand men to reduce Aden, so he raised his anchors and sailed through the strait of Bab el Mandeb into the Red sea.

It was the first time that Portuguese ships had entered that expanse of water. The captain-general intended to sail up it to Suez, but baffling winds prevented him from getting farther than the island of Kamaran, which lies close to the Arabian shore, and there he was obliged to wait two full months. Provisions ran short, the heat was like that of a furnace, and sickness broke out which carried off hundreds of Portuguese and nearly the whole

of the Indian troops. In the middle of July the fleet got away and returned to Aden, where again a quantity of shipping was destroyed, but no other damage could be done. All that the expedition gained was geographical and political knowledge, and that at an enormous cost of life and no small amount of money.

On the 4th of August the fleet sailed from Aden, and it reached Diu with the loss of only one ship. It was still so powerful that Melique Az thought it prudent to put on an appearance of friendship, and accordingly the anchors were hardly dropped when boats were alongside with sheep, poultry, and garden produce, sent with a complimentary message from him. No objection was made to the establishment of a factory, but consent to the building of a fortress for the purpose could not be obtained. A factor was appointed with a staff of assistants, a quantity of merchandise was landed, and when the fleet sailed a ship was left behind for his use.

The next port visited was Chaul. Here Alboquerque learned that a fleet of nine ships belonging to Mohamedan merchants at Calicut, laden with valuable cargoes of spices, had recently left for the Red sea, but that being overtaken by a storm they had scattered and put into various harbours for shelter. He at once took measures to seize them, and very shortly they were all his prizes. Their capture ruined many of the Mohamedan merchants, and soon afterwards an event took place at Calicut which entirely altered the aspect of affairs there. The zamorin with whom the Portuguese had carried on hostilities so long was poisoned by his brother, it was said at the instigation of Alboquerque, and was succeeded by his murderer, who was desirous of entering into alliance with them. He readily granted permission for the erection of a fortress, and even agreed to contribute towards the cost of its construction and subsequent maintenance. The site selected was the shore in front of the centre of the city, and the outer wall rose from

water so deep that boats could lie alongside it, thus keeping open communication with ships under all circumstances. The rajas of Cananor and Cochin were strongly opposed to the alliance of the Portuguese with Calicut, because their towns would deteriorate in importance by it, but Alboquerque told them plainly he would do what he chose, and they were obliged to submit. Some of his own captains objected also, on the ground that prize money would be lost, but he was equally firm with them.

The attention of the captain-general was now for some time taken up with regulating the affairs of the dependencies, entering into agreements of friendship with various states, despatching ships with cargoes to Portugal, and devising means to raise a revenue sufficient to meet the expenditure on the Indian establishments.

Mohamed, the former sultan of Malacca, had been able to cause much more trouble than Alboquerque anticipated when he left that city. His adherents had kept the garrison harassed, and at times it seemed as if they might recover the place. In June 1514 therefore the captain-general sent a strong body of troops as a reinforcement, and with them he sent his nephew Jorge d'Alboquerque to replace Ruy de Brito Patalim as captain. Mohamed then with a few devoted followers wandered from place to place, vainly appealing from one power to another to assist him, until worn out by grief, disappointment, and want, he died. The Portuguese were thus relieved of danger from the former owners of the place, for Alodim could not command a large following.

Pedro d'Alboquerque, another nephew of the captain-general, was sent with four ships to cruise in the gulf of Aden, and while there captured ten dhows bound to the Red sea. Their cargoes, which were valuable, were taken to Ormuz, and sold for the benefit of the captors and the treasury at Goa. Pedro d'Alboquerque then explored the Persian gulf, and took back to Goa important in-

formation, particularly with regard to the political condition of Ormuz. Coge Atar was dead, the hereditary ruler in whose name he had dealt with Affonso d'Albuquerque in 1507 had been murdered, and one of his brothers had taken his place. The shah Ismael of Persia was endeavouring by diplomatic means to add Ormuz to his dominions, and a Persian named Raez Nordim was even then chief minister of the new ruler. Still, a rupture with the Portuguese was not desired, and so Pedro d'Albuquerque was received with a show of friendship, and the tribute that was due was paid to him for transmission to Goa.

There were two objects yet unattained before the Portuguese could feel certain that they were absolute masters of the commerce of India: the possession of the two doorways of the ancient roads to Europe. The king wrote to Albuquerque to secure them as soon as possible, and he needed no urging to do that which he himself had prompted. But his means seemed even then too limited for enterprises of such magnitude, to-day we look upon them as so insignificant that we are amazed at his audacity in attempting to do what he did. After the garrisons of Goa, Cananor, Calicut, Cochin, and Malacca were brought up to a strength to make those places secure, he had only fifteen hundred Portuguese at his disposal for offensive purposes. He could have engaged a large number of Indians, but he considered it prudent not to have more than one of them to two Portuguese in the field, and so seven hundred were as many as he engaged to accompany him.

On the sea he was in comparison very much stronger. In September 1514 a fleet of five large ships, under command of Christovão de Brito, arrived at Goa from Portugal, and he had means for building as many small vessels as he could find men to work and cannon to arm. After providing squadrons ample for the protection of the coasts, he mustered at Goa fourteen ships, each

one when compared with a dhow being like a dreadnought to a wooden sailing vessel of our day. In these he embarked his land forces, two thousand two hundred men in all. Then he had seven caravels and six small vessels that could be propelled by sweeps, for use as scouts and light cruisers. When all was ready, he assembled a council of his captains, and submitted to them the question whether their destination should be Ormuz or the Red sea. If Ormuz was not secured, the shah Ismael of Persia would soon be in possession of it, and then it would be no easy matter to take it from him. It commanded one of the great trade routes, though not the one of most importance. It would require four or five thousand men to take Aden, but they might find some place where a strong fortress could be built that would command the Red Sea route, and thus cut off the commerce of Egypt.

After considering the matter fully, the council decided that of the two objects it was more important to secure Ormuz first, and therefore on the 21st of February 1515 sail was set from Goa for that place. In the afternoon of the 26th of March the anchors were dropped again before Ormuz, when a friendly greeting was received in the name of the ruler, accompanied by a present of refreshments. The position of things in the city at the time was this: the ruler, who had the name of being sovereign of the island and the territory subject to it, was a weak-minded man, and had not even hereditary claim to the title, for his murdered brother had left two infant sons who were still living. The principal minister, Raez Nordim, a Persian, was an old man troubled with gout, and not at all strong-minded. The real ruler was a haughty, resolute, fearless Persian, Raez Hamet by name, a nephew of Raez Nordim. This man had the nominal ruler completely in subjection, and had made him little better than a prisoner in his palace. He had actually on one occasion placed his uncle in confinement,

and openly conducted himself as having supreme authority.

The shah Ismael of Persia was desirous of adding Ormuz and its territories to his dominions, and the Portuguese believed that Raez Hamet favoured his design, but that may not have been correct. At any rate it was strongly to the interest of the shah to keep on terms of friendship with the Portuguese, as he was still at variance with the Turkish sultan Selim I, who in the preceding year, 1514, had invaded his territory, seized two of his provinces, and for a short time occupied his capital; and it was equally to their interest to keep on terms of friendship with him, as they could not afford to have so powerful a monarch as an enemy. So on both sides great caution was used to avoid offence, while all the time each was working towards its own ends.

Albuquerque sent a message to the ruler to request delivery to him of the fortress that he had commenced to build seven years before, that he might complete it, and also to assign to him some houses adjoining it, in which to lodge those of his captains whom he wished to reside on shore. He received a reply asking for time to consider the matter, and negotiations followed, in which Albuquerque recognised that Raez Hamet was acting in opposition to him. At length, however, he and Raez Nordim had a meeting on board a galley, and as the Portuguese ships were then arranged so as to blockade the island, his demands were conceded by the minister.

That was sufficient for Albuquerque's purpose, and without any loss of time every man who could be spared from other duty was set to work upon the fortress. As soon as a section was fit for defence, a quantity of goods was landed and exposed for sale, in order to make the Persians and people of the place believe that commerce, not dominion, was the object in view. Then a meeting was arranged between the ruler, his minister Raez Nordim, Raez Hamet, Affonso d'Albuquerque, and his

principal captains, on the understanding that all were to attend unarmed. The Portuguese carried daggers concealed in their clothing, and when Ræz Hamet entered the hall with his weapons displayed, a Portuguese captain accused him of a breach of faith. He replied haughtily, when Affonso d'Albuquerque issued the laconic order "kill him." Instantly every Portuguese officer present drew his dagger, rushed upon the unfortunate man, and stabbed him. He fell dead before he could attempt to defend himself, and though his brothers and other partisans endeavoured for a moment to make a stand, they quickly accepted Albuquerque's terms: to leave the city before nightfall and proceed to the mainland, on pain of being put to death.

The Portuguese were now the undisputed masters of Ormuz. They allowed the nominal ruler to retain his title and some authority as a vassal of the king of Portugal, but they directed all affairs of importance, they took charge of the two infant sons of his predecessor, and they sent to Goa all his brothers, whose eyes he had caused to be put out, so that they had complete control of what they were pleased to term the royal family. He accepted the position without demur, and even expressed gratitude to Albuquerque for having delivered him from an oppressor. Ræz Nordim was also retained in office in a similar condition. Thus the Portuguese came into possession of the doorway between the eastern seas and Western Asia, and could impose whatever tribute they pleased upon the commerce that passed up the Persian gulf.

Pedro d'Albuquerque, a nephew of the captain-general, was now appointed captain of Ormuz, and every effort was made to raise a revenue sufficient to cover the cost of occupation. The garrison would necessarily be a strong one. Dom Garcia de Noronha, another nephew of the captain-general, was sent to Cochin with several of the largest ships to take in cargoes of spices and return to

Portugal. The work on the fortress was pushed on as rapidly as possible, and all the artillery in the city was conveyed to it.

Affonso d'Albuquerque was now attacked by illness, from which he could obtain no relief. He therefore required his captains to take an oath of fealty to the individual he should name to fill his office, in case of his death, until the pleasure of the king should be known, and he nominated Pedro d'Albuquerque, his nephew. He was very anxious to return to Goa, partly because his physicians advised him that the sea voyage might restore him to health, but chiefly because he hoped to find there letters from the king approving of his conduct and conferring upon him some reward. So having arranged everything in Ormuz as well as he could, he was carried on board a ship and sailed for Goa.

The account of what followed on the passage is one of the most pathetic chapters in the great history of João de Barros. One afternoon a vessel from Diu was met, bound to Ormuz, and having on board two letters addressed to Affonso d'Albuquerque. The information contained in them was to the effect that twelve ships had arrived from Portugal, under command of Lopo Soares d'Albergaria, who had been appointed by the king captain-general and governor of India. A new staff of officials had been sent out, who had already taken over their duties, and among them were two of Albuquerque's bitterest opponents. And this was the reward the sick man had so anxiously been looking forward to. Superseded before his work was done, and that by a man whom he knew to be in every respect his inferior in ability! From the master of another vessel that was met he received intelligence that many of his regulations had been annulled, which added to his former grief. He had now no desire to recover, he looked for death as a release, and loathing food, he grew weaker day by day. On arriving at the bar of Goa the vicar general, for

whom he had sent a small vessel in advance, came on board to offer him the consolations of religion, and found him in possession of all his mental faculties. He caused himself to be clothed in the garb of a religious order, gave directions where he was to be buried, and at five o'clock in the morning of Sunday the 16th of December 1515 he breathed his last, at the age of sixty-three years.

Setting aside the ferocity of his character when dealing with captured Mohamedans and rebellious subjects, Affonso d'Albuquerque merits the title of Great, which by general consent has been bestowed upon him. He was the real founder of the vast Portuguese realm in the East. That realm, it is true, extended only along the coasts, and never embraced land far from the sea; but it had an almost perfect monopoly for nearly a hundred years of all the commerce of every country between the Cape of Good Hope and the Sea of Japan. If Albuquerque had lived another year, and the king had sent him the men and the munitions of war that he asked for, Aden would have been his, and then the Indian ocean and the Pacific adjoining it would have been like Portuguese lakes. Not a roll of silk from China, not a metre of muslin or calico from Hindostan, not a nutmeg or a clove or a piece of cinnamon from any of the Spice islands, not a kilogramme of pepper from Malabar or the Malay archipelago, could have reached Europe except through their hands. Upon the foundation laid by Albuquerque, this great fabric grew up. He was honest in his business transactions, never self-seeking, and died poor. After the conquest of Malacca he had a complete grasp of the condition of parties in the East, he made good use of his knowledge and his experience, to those who submitted to him he acted justly, irrespective of their creed, and he laboured to prove to them that they could be more prosperous under Portuguese rule than under that of their native princes. The lesson that he

strove to teach to his countrymen was better learned by other nations than by them, for in the two centuries following the one in which he lived both the Dutch and the English in their dealings with the people of the East adopted the principles that he acted upon.

But already, before his death, the germ of decay might be seen in the system of government of India favoured by the authorities in Lisbon. When some of the Portuguese captains objected to peace with Calicut on the ground that thereby their prize money would be diminished, they were giving expression to a feeling that afterwards became widely spread. Private gain came before public welfare, and each official sought to gather wealth for himself with which to return to Europe. His pay was miserably small, his term of office only three years, and every one looked upon it as natural that he should make the most of his opportunities and gather in perquisites as fast as he could. Corruption in a very short time was draining the very life blood from the administration of India. It is true that fraud and extortion were never so rampant under Portuguese rule as under the government of most of the native princes, but they were sufficiently so to destroy all sense of justice in Europeans.

Then the drain of men from Portugal was too great to be borne long by so small a country. Of every five that left their homes, probably not more than one returned. That one took back wealth, however, which tempted others to make the venture also, so that the drain went on. Albuquerque realised this, and tried to provide a remedy by raising up Portuguese in India itself, a system which soon became common. But it did not prove so successful as he anticipated it would be. Though among the Eurasians who soon became numerous, there were some able men, as a whole they were never equal to pure Europeans, and the best employment that they were fitted for, generally speaking, was in the coasting and local trade. They never manned a single

ship that voyaged from Goa to Lisbon. In the southern provinces of Portugal itself the blood of the people was becoming mixed, and even among the upper classes there was not that aversion to alliances with blacks that to a large extent protects the northern races from deterioration. The only child of the great Affonso d'Albuquerque himself, his natural son Braz d'Albuquerque, whom on his death-bed he recommended to the consideration of the king on account of his own services, had a coloured woman as his mother.

In the northern provinces the blood remained pure, but they could not supply a sufficient number of men to meet the demand. The little kingdom was attempting to do what a country with ten times her population could only with difficulty have accomplished. She was colonising Madeira and Brazil, occupying various posts along the western coast of Africa, and holding the shores and islands of the eastern seas, all at the same time. We may regard such tremendous energy with admiration, but it was doomed to failure in the end. As time went on it became a necessity to employ slave labour ever more and more, even on board the ocean-going ships, and then decay set rapidly in, so that long before the close of the sixteenth century the Portuguese power rested more on prestige than on actual strength.

The effect of the government of India being entrusted to weaker hands than those of Albuquerque was immediately apparent. Lopo Soares, who was captain-general and governor from the 8th of September 1515 to the 20th of December 1518, when the duty was transferred to Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, had the reputation in Portugal of being a cautious and prudent man, but he was destitute of firmness and entirely wanting in that quality which controls the wills of others and induces implicit obedience. The rulers of the numerous states that had sought the friendship of his predecessor soon came to regard him with little respect, and his own

captains lost all fear of him. The subordinate officials, who had been compelled by Albuquerque to do their duty in a becoming manner, now threw aside all restraint, and openly set themselves to the work of making money by fair means or by foul. This led naturally to great discontent on the part of the native people.

Albuquerque had made a close study of the condition of all the countries east of Malabar, and had communicated the knowledge obtained to the king, who thereupon directed factories to be established in Bengal, China, and the Maldivé islands. Early in 1516 Fernão Peres d'Andrade sailed with four ships from Goa for Bengal and China. He inspected the coast of Bengal, but did not establish a factory, and after proceeding some distance farther, was obliged to put back to Malacca. Sailing again in 1517 with an ambassador from the king of Portugal to the emperor of China accompanying him, he reached Canton, and the ambassador, who proceeded from that city to Peking, was able to make arrangements for opening trading establishments. This was the commencement of European intercourse with China. The arrogant and highhanded conduct of a Portuguese officer in 1519, however, caused such a feeling of animosity that the traders were driven away, and intercourse was suspended for some time afterwards.

To the Maldivé islands João da Silveira was sent in April 1518 with a squadron of four ships. Almost the only article of commerce obtainable there was coir, but as this was indispensable for the equipment of ships in India, much importance was attached to Silveira's mission. He was received by the ruler of the islands in a friendly manner, and some trade was carried on, but a fort was not built, though permission was obtained to erect one whenever he pleased. The view of the ruler of a weak state like the Maldivé islands in granting permission to the Portuguese to build a fort was that it would be for his own defence against enemies, with whom he was

always at feud. For exactly the same reason in our own time in Africa Bantu chiefs have willingly come under the protectorate of Great Britain: in some instances their only choice was that or annihilation. And the Portuguese really did protect obedient vassals from the assaults of their foes, though their own exactions were often exceedingly severe.

With the ruler of Siam an agreement was made at this time which opened the commerce of his country to the Portuguese.

The sultan Kansuh of Egypt, after the destruction of his fleet at Diu, at once commenced to build another at Suez, and succeeded in launching twenty-five vessels of different sizes there. Over these he appointed as commander-in-chief a famous Mediterranean corsair named Soleiman, a Turk by birth, but a rebel against his own sovereign, who offered his services to clear the Christians from the eastern seas. Next to him in command was the emir Husain, who had regained the sultan's favour. On board the fleet were three thousand men, including a strong body of mameluke soldiers. Soleiman's first effort was to make himself master of Aden, but he met with determined resistance from the ruler of that town, who feared the mamelukes even more than the Portuguese, and though he succeeded in battering great breaches in the wall on the sea side, his losses were so great that he abandoned the design of effecting an entrance, and returned to the Red sea to repair his damages.

He had hardly left Aden when Lopo Soares arrived there with a fleet of thirty-seven vessels large and small, having on board twelve hundred Portuguese, eight hundred Indian troops, and eight hundred lascar seamen. He had been ordered by the king to destroy the Egyptian fleet, and learning that it had just left for the Red sea in a damaged condition, he went in pursuit of it. Aden was almost defenceless at the time, and its ruler offered to surrender it and admit a Portuguese garrison, but Soares

did not think it prudent to weaken his strength by detaching men for the purpose, and so he deferred taking possession until his return. By doing so he lost for ever one of the greatest prizes in all the east.

In the Red sea he acted so feebly that his officers became disheartened, but fortunately for him Soleiman was in no position to take the offensive. The sultan of Turkey Selim I had attacked Egypt, and on the 24th of August 1515 Kansuh had fallen in battle. A rumour of his death reached the fleet in the Red sea, but it was not certain, though it paralysed the arms of his forces. Soleiman and Husain held different opinions as to what should be done, and each acted independently of the other. Then the intelligence was confirmed, and Soleiman managed to cause Husain to be drowned, but could not secure the obedience of the mameluke troops, or he would probably have hoisted an independent flag. Meantime the governor of Cairo had been proclaimed sultan, and was trying to hold out against the Turks, but on the 20th of January 1517 the city was taken and Selim I added Egypt to his dominions. The fleet soon became useless through want of repair, and the Portuguese had nothing more to fear from it.

Lopo Soares, recognising this, crossed over from Jeddah to the African shore, burnt the town of Zeila, and then proceeded to Aden, expecting to get possession of that place. But during his absence the wall had been repaired, and everything had been made ready for defence, besides which with the victorious progress of the Turks the fear of the mamelukes had passed away. So the Portuguese demand was refused, and Soares was obliged to leave. He had already lost many men, and now to complete his misfortune a hurricane was encountered, in which the greater number of his ships were scattered and wrecked, so that when he reached Goa again two-thirds of the men who had sailed with him from that port had perished.

While the captain-general was engaged in this ill-fated expedition, Goa and Malacca were exposed to great danger through the misconduct of the officers left in command. Dom Guterre de Monroy at Goa provoked the natives to such an extent that the son of the former ruler of the place thought an opportunity had come to recover what he had lost, and he laid siege to the city with a strong force. That he did not succeed in recovering it was only owing to the arrival of ships that aided in the defence.

At Malacca Jorge de Brito acted so unjustly and tyrannically that the greater number of the inhabitants abandoned the town, and took refuge in another state in the peninsula. This state was less powerful than Malacca had been, but its people were warlike, and were disposed to assist in trying to expel the oppressors. Malacca was besieged, and might have been taken if reinforcements of Portuguese soldiers had not arrived just in time. As it was, the war lasted many months, though European valour and skill prevailed in the end.

The three years term of office of Lopo Soares had almost expired, and there was nothing creditable to be placed to his account. A successor might be expected any day, so he resolved while yet there was time to endeavour to carry out one of Alboquerque's projects. Early in September 1518 he sailed from Cochin with a fleet of seventeen vessels, having on board seven hundred Portuguese soldiers, and directed his course to Colombo, the most important town on the coast of the island of Ceylon. There he entered into negotiations with the ruler of the place, and obtained permission to erect a fort and establish a factory in a commanding position. But some Mohamedans from the coast of Malabar who had taken refuge there represented matters in such a light that when he landed to commence building the fort, he was opposed by a strong armed force. His troops,

however, soon put the ill-armed undisciplined Asiatics to flight, and he then became master of Colombo.

The terms he imposed were that the ruler should acknowledge himself a vassal of the king of Portugal and pay a stipulated yearly tribute in cinnamon and elephants, that liberal assistance in men should be given towards the construction of the fort, and that the ruler should be protected against enemies by the king of Portugal. As soon as these terms were arranged as many men, Europeans and Asiatics, as could be employed were set to work, and in a few weeks a strong stone fortress, named Nossa Senhora das Virtudes—Our Lady of the Virtues,—was completed and equipped with everything necessary for defence. João da Silveira was stationed in it as captain, with a competent garrison and a trading staff, and four ships under Antonio de Miranda d'Azevedo were detached to guard the coast.

It was the intention of Lopo Soares when returning from Colombo to build a fort at Quilon, where trade had been carried on for some years, and where as Albuquerque's name no longer afforded protection the Portuguese were sometimes subjected to indignities, but on his arrival there he learned that Diogo Lopes de Sequeira, who had been appointed to succeed him as captain-general and governor, was waiting for him at Cochin, so he went on at once, and on the 20th of December 1518 transferred the duty.

It will not be necessary in this history to relate the transactions of the Portuguese in India any further. Sufficient has been told of the manner in which the foundation of their realm was laid to enable readers to understand the condition of things in the sixteenth century, when Eastern Africa was included in that realm, and therefore we turn now to the last-named continent.

CHAPTER IX.

OCCUPATION OF SOFALA BY THE PORTUGUESE.

FROM the date of Vasco da Gama's return from his first voyage to India rumours concerning the gold of Sofala had fascinated the minds of all classes of men in Portugal. Those rumours greatly exaggerated the quantity of the precious metal actually obtainable, and all the difficulties of acquiring it were lost sight of. It was believed that nothing needed to be done except to replace the Mohamedans with Christian traders, when enormous wealth would flow into the national treasury. There would then be no need of paying taxes, and the state would be able to undertake public works of every kind for the benefit of the people, who would all find employment and prosper as they had never done before. Different efforts, as has been related, were made from time to time not only to acquire accurate information, but also to get possession of the gold trade; and Sancho de Toar and Da Gama himself on their visits to Sofala had obtained much knowledge, though before 1505 all attempts to secure the commerce of that place had failed.

Neither the king nor any of his subjects had scruples about depriving those who were in possession of the gold trade of their means of living: they were either heathens, in which case they could have no rights as against Christians, or they were Mohamedans, who were declared enemies and could therefore legally be despoiled. It may be doubted indeed whether some excuse would not have been found to take possession of the commerce in gold

if it had been in the hands of Christians of another and weaker nationality, for King Manuel, in order to obtain the profits of the spice trade, did not hesitate to bring ruin upon Venice, a Christian state. In such matters nations had not then a conscience, nor have they a tender one to-day.

It was intended that Dom Francisco d'Almeida should erect a fortress at Sofala, but Pedro d'Anaya, who had been selected as its captain by the king, lost the ship in which he was to have sailed by her sinking in the Tagus, and was thus unable to accompany the fleet. After its departure the original design was enlarged, a plan of a fortress of considerable strength was prepared and approved of, and it was determined to make ready a squadron of six ships with which D'Anaya should proceed to take possession of the gold port. When the fortress was completed three of these ships were to be sent on to India, and the other three, under Francisco d'Anaya as commodore, were to be kept to guard the African coast. On board the vessels everything was laden that could be needed for the equipment of the fortress, even to dressed stones for the entrance archway, as well as a stock of merchandise for the purpose of barter, and on the 18th of May 1505 they sailed from the Tagus. Pedro d'Anaya was in command of the *Santo Espirito*, the largest of the squadron. The other captains were his son Francisco d'Anaya, Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, João Leite, João de Queiros, and Manuel Fernandes, the last of whom was appointed factor of Sofala.

On the passage, when off Sierra Leone, João Leite, while endeavouring to harpoon a fish, lost his footing on the rail and fell overboard. There was nothing handy to throw to him to float upon, and before a boat could be lowered to rescue him he disappeared. The crew then elected Jorge Mendes to be their captain. In heavy weather some of the ships got separated from the commodore, who ran so far south to make sure of

passing the Cape of Good Hope with a westerly wind that the men could not work the sails on account of the cold, but he was soon in warm latitudes again, and early in September arrived off the bar of Sofala with the ships commanded by his son and Manuel Fernandes. There he anchored, and awaited the appearance of the remainder of his squadron before entering the river.

The next to arrive were the *Santo Antonio*, under command of Jorge Mendes, and the *São Paulo*, of which João de Queiros was captain when she left Portugal. They brought word that De Queiros, after parting from the others in a storm, put into a curve on the South African coast then named Bahia das Vacas, now Flesh Bay,* and being in want of meat, proceeded three or

* João de Barros states that this took place at Delagoa Bay as termed by us, the Rio da Lagoa of his time, and he fixes its position as about four hundred kilometres south of Cape Correntes. Damião de Goes and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda state that it took place at the Bahia das Vacas. Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, in the report of his survey of the South African coast, also gives this as the scene of the occurrence. It is possible that Barros may have fallen into an error through there being then a bay named Alagoa on the southern seaboard, as may be seen in the *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis* of Duarte Pacheco, written before the death of King Manuel, in which its position is given as fifteen leagues east of the watering place of São Bras, that is the locality of the present Plettenberg's Bay, to which his description also answers. When or by whom this name was given to the Plettenberg's Bay of our time I have been unable to ascertain, but it must have been very soon after the earliest passage round the Cape, if not by Dias himself, for on a map of 1502, a copy of which appears in the *Journal of the First Voyage of Vasco da Gama* translated by Mr. Ravenstein and published by the Hakluyt Society, it appears as Baia das alagoas, the bay of the marshes. At a later date, but before 1575 when Manuel de Mesquita inspected the South African coast, Plettenberg's Bay was named Bahia Fermosa, and the old name Bahia da Lagoa was transferred to the curve now known as Algoa Bay. Corruptions and changes of the names originally given by the Portuguese to localities on the South African seaboard have been in vogue from early times to the present day, and cause much confusion.

four kilometres inland with twenty of his people in search of cattle. Antonio do Campo, when returning from India, had touched at the same place, and though treated in a friendly manner by the Hottentot inhabitants, had seized several of them and carried them away in order to learn as much as he could from them and to impress them with the greatness of Portugal. It was most probably his intention to treat them kindly, and to restore them to their native country loaded with presents, but this had not yet been done, and the clan to which they belonged was therefore apprehensive for its own safety and filled with resentment for the wrong done to its abducted members. De Queiros when he reached their kraal found the men with arms in their hands and hostile. They attacked him, and in a skirmish he and fifteen of his party, including the sailing master and the pilot of his ship, were killed. Only the secretary, Antão de Gá, who was badly wounded, and four others escaped. There was no one left who could navigate the ship, but fortunately she fell in with the *Santo Antonio*, and Jorge Mendes sent on board his sailing master and as captain a gentleman named João Vaz d'Almada, who conducted her to Sofala.

The last to arrive was the ship commanded by Pedro Barreto de Magalhães. She anchored near Cape Saint Sebastian, and as her pilot was unacquainted with the shoal of Sofala and would not venture upon it, Antonio de Magalhães, brother of the captain, was sent in a boat to seek assistance from any vessel that might have reached her destination. On the way he put into a river, where he found five half famished Portuguese, who had a doleful story to tell.

They had belonged to the ship of Lopo Sanches, which had sailed from the Tagus with Dom Francisco d'Almeida. South of Cape Correntes stormy weather was encountered, and the ship became so leaky that she could not be kept afloat, so she was run ashore to save the

lives of her people. An abundance of provisions was saved, and also ample materials to build a caravel, but discord arose, and the authority of Lopo Sanches was completely disregarded. After a time sixty men set out to travel overland to Sofala, where they hoped to find a Portuguese fort in course of erection, and the others remained at the wreck constructing a caravel. Of these last nothing was ever heard again. Those marching overland suffered so terribly from hunger that they became scattered, and most of them perished. There were Bantu living in the country through which they were travelling, but from them the distressed men received no assistance, none of the writers of the time has mentioned why, and no conjecture can be made, for in general the dark-skinned people are not wanting in hospitality to strangers in distress who conduct themselves peaceably and who have nothing to provoke robbery. The five found by Antonio de Magalhães had been living for twenty days upon raw crabs alone. They were taken into the boat, and conveyed to the flag ship anchored outside the bar of Sofala.

Pedro d'Anaya at once sent the vessel under João Vaz d'Almada with the pilot of the *São João*, Francisco d'Anaya's ship, to the assistance of Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, with whose arrival some days later the squadron was complete. He then made arrangements for entering the river. The two largest ships were left outside, and with the four smallest he crossed the bar and cast anchor in front of the lower Mohamedan village. The real condition of things there at the time seems to have been unknown to him. In point of fact, the true owner of the land was a Bantu chief, and the Mohamedans were living at the port on sufferance and payment of tribute or ground rent in the form of yearly presents, but he regarded Isuf as the sovereign proprietor whose consent alone was necessary to enable him to build a fort without resorting to arms.

As soon as he had dropped anchor some of the leading inhabitants went on board, and desired to know the object of his visit, to which he replied that he wished to have a conference with the sheik. To this they at first raised many objections, such as the distance to his residence, the great age and infirmity of the sheik, and the impossibility of the ships going farther up the narrow river; but at last they consented, and went in advance to prepare for the Portuguese captain's reception. D'Anaya followed them with a large number of armed attendants, in boats decorated with flags and with trumpeters sounding their instruments.

Having arrived at the upper village, he landed and proceeded to the sheik's residence, where he was courteously received. In the large hall of the thatched house, the only rectangular building in the settlement, which was unprovided with a ceiling, and had no other floor than stamped anthills, were gathered the leading men of the place, clothed from the waist downward with calico wrappers, with silken turbans on their heads, and scimitars with ornamented ivory handles at their sides. In a recess hung with cloth of silk at the upper end of the hall, Isuf, a man of large stature, but infirm, blind, and about seventy years of age, reclined on a cushioned couch, or as it would be termed in South Africa a katel, made by stretching thongs of hide across a frame of wood. He was more richly dressed than the others, and frail as he was, had still a stately and commanding appearance. D'Anaya, leaving his soldiers in the courtyard, which was enclosed with a thick thorny hedge, with the officers entered the hall. The men there, who were seated on low three-legged stools, rose and bowed to salute him, and he passed through to the couch of the sheik.

The people of Sofala had heard of the occurrences at Kilwa and Mombasa, and were divided in opinion as to how they should act. They could not regard as friends

the strangers, who assumed a tone of authority and whose weapons and courage made them formidable, no matter how plausible the arguments used by those strangers might be. But what were they to do? If they had been pure Arabs or pure Persians there is no doubt that they would have preferred risking their lives to submitting tamely, but they were of mixed blood, and the hearts of most of them waxed exceedingly faint. There was indeed a party under the leadership of Mengo Musaf, a son-in-law of Isuf, that advocated resistance to the Christians by force of arms, but a larger party was filled with fear and hung back. The old sheik, blind and feeble, though in his prime a valiant man, was incapable of leading his people in war. His opinion was that it would be wiser to rely upon the effects of the climate, which was most unhealthy to those unaccustomed to it, rather than upon an appeal to arms. To this course of proceeding the people of Sofala agreed, and so the meeting that took place between D'Anaya and Isuf was conducted with deceit on both sides.

The greetings that took place were apparently friendly. D'Anaya spoke next of the advantages to be gained by the sheik and his people from the establishment of a Portuguese fort and trading station, and from their coming under the protection of the king of Portugal, taking care to draw attention to the fact that the villages had often been pillaged by Bantu clans in the neighbourhood, which would be provided against in the future if a fort was erected. Isuf, though the idea of such dependence must have been abhorrent to him, professed to agree with what had been said, and gave his consent to the erection of the proposed fortress. He stated that he was a friend of Europeans, and as a proof twenty Portuguese whom he had rescued from starvation were brought forward by his order and restored to the society of their countrymen. They were the only remaining survivors of the sixty who had left the wrecked ship of Lopo Sanches, and who

had gone through almost incredible suffering in their journey before they reached Sofala.

There were feuds between nearly all the Mohamedan settlements on the coast, and not only that, but in each of them there were jealousies among the principal inhabitants, which made them an easy prey to the Portuguese. It was so at Sofala. At this place there was living a man named Acote, an Abyssinian by birth, who had been made a captive when he was only ten years of age, and who had embraced the Mohamedan faith from necessity rather than choice. He had come to occupy a position of some influence, and was at the head of a party at variance with Mengo Musaf, Isuf's son-in-law. His party was much the weaker of the two, and it had been obliged to dissemble and keep quiet, but the appearance of the Portuguese gave it an opportunity to show its hostility to the other faction. As Mengo Musaf advocated armed resistance to the Portuguese, Acote acted as their friend, and now offered his services to the Christians. Through him D'Anaya engaged a number of Bantu who were at Sofala to do the rough work, thus inaugurating a system that is in existence to the present day, of the black man performing the manual labour and the European issuing the directions in carrying out enterprises of any kind. This system was advantageous to both parties. It spared the Portuguese from excessive toil in that pestilential climate, which must soon have destroyed them all, and it furnished to the Bantu labourers an opportunity to obtain beads, copper trinkets, and other things of the kind which gave them the same satisfaction that they give to children.

On the 21st of September 1505 D'Anaya commenced the construction of a fort on a sand-flat on the northern bank of the river near its mouth. It was in the form of a square, large enough to contain barracks for the garrison, storehouses, a warehouse for goods, and quarters for the officers. No stone was procurable near at hand,

so a moat, a hundred and twenty paces long on each side, was dug, and the earth taken out was formed into a wall, which was supported by stakes and beams of mangrove wood. The structure was thus of the roughest description, but it was regarded as sufficiently strong for defence until time and favourable circumstances would permit of something better taking its place.

The materials for the buildings inside had been brought ready prepared from Portugal, so that they could be put together without difficulty or delay, and after three months' labour all was completed. The heaviest work, such as carrying wood from the mangrove swamps and digging the moats, was performed by the blacks, though on one occasion they were induced by Mengo Musaf to desert for several days. Acote continued to assist, and the Portuguese, who were spared as much as possible from severe toil, were not as yet stricken with much sickness.

In the mean time the vessel commanded by Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, which Dom Francisco d'Almeida had sent from Mombasa with a cargo of calico, part of the spoil of that town, arrived in the river. Her lading together with the stores and merchandise brought from Portugal was then taken on shore, and the three largest ships were made ready to proceed to India. Gonçalo Alvares, previously chief pilot, was appointed captain of the *Santo Espirito*, and sailed with João Vaz d'Almada and Pedro Barreto de Magalhães, the latter acting as commodore. They were to report themselves to the viceroy, under whose directions they were to take in cargoes of pepper and return to Lisbon. On crossing the bar of Sofala the commodore's boat was lost with most of the men in her and a chest of money intended for the purchase of pepper,* and in leaving Kilwa, where he put in, he had the further misfortune of losing his ship.

* It had already been ascertained that European wares could not be sold or bartered in India in sufficient quantity to pay for

A few days after the departure of this squadron Francisco d'Anaya was sent with the *São João* and the *São Paulo* to cruise along the coast against Mohamedan commerce, and with him the vessel under Gonçalo Vaz de Goes and the remaining one that had come from Portugal sailed for Mozambique. On his passage northward he captured a dhow from India laden with calico, and having sixty Mohamedans on board. This vessel was subsequently wrecked, when he caused all the prisoners to be put to death, through fear of their rising against him. A zambuco laden with ivory also fell into his hands, and her crew shared the fate of the others. But his ruthless barbarity was soon checked. Both the *São João* and the *São Paulo* were lost, one at Mozambique and the other a little farther north, and the commodore, on arriving at Kilwa in the captured zambuco, was put under arrest by Pedro Ferreira Fogaça on a charge of carelessness in the king's service. He was permitted, however, soon afterwards to proceed to India to be tried there. The butchery of his prisoners was not regarded as a crime, or even as a matter for reproach; it was an ordinary occurrence of the time; but the loss of ships entrusted to his charge required to be carefully looked into.

At Sofala fever, which had not been very prevalent at first, now began to spread to an alarming extent, and at the close of the year the greater number of the men composing the garrison were laid up with it. A more

the spices and other articles that were needed, and it was necessary therefore to supplement them with gold and silver. This was done as sparingly as possible, however, because the possession of these metals was regarded as wealth, though in reality it was advantageous to Europe that they should be exported to India, as otherwise the quantity then being received by Castile from America would have diminished their purchasing power much more than was actually the case. The sales of the Portuguese in Europe were very largely for coin or bullion, which would have been a superfluity in their hands if they had not been able to dispose of it to advantage in the East.

wretched condition than that in which they were, on the border of a mangrove swamp the breeding ground of myriads of mosquitos, in a hot and pestilential atmosphere, drinking the impure water of wells, and cut off from all companionship, can hardly be imagined. Their mental and bodily suffering must have been so great that death, which was stalking among them, would be regarded as a relief. Trade was carried on, for the factor Manuel Fernandes seemed to be fever proof, but the quantity of gold obtained in barter was small compared with their earlier expectations or those of the king. They had not even the satisfaction therefore of knowing that their suffering was productive of pecuniary profit to the treasury of their country.

While they were in this state, early in January 1506 Acote informed Pedro d'Anaya that the faction of Mengo Musaf with Isuf's concurrence had come to a determination to wait no longer for fever to do its work, but to drive away the Christians at once; and as they were afraid to make war themselves, they had persuaded a Bantu clan to assist them in attacking the fort. That they had good cause to oppose the Portuguese, who were striving to wrest the commerce of the country from them, is evident. But perhaps there was another and stronger reason for openly assuming a hostile attitude. In the *Legends of India* Gaspar Correa states that the treatment of the people of the country by the Christians was the cause of it, and on such a question his evidence is certainly of great weight. He says they were treated worse than slaves, and though the captain Pedro d'Anaya punished some of the offenders when complaints were made to him, the disorderly conduct of the soldiers went on increasing until at length it caused hostilities. By none of the historians, it is true, is there any reference made to immoral or overbearing behaviour by the white men, but they were not given to finding fault in such matters when only Mohamedans or heathens were affected.

There was a clan of the great Makaranga tribe in the neighbourhood of Sofala, under a chief named Mokonde, who was induced by the prospect of plunder to ally himself with the Mohamedans. The two parties joined, and advanced against the fort, armed with scimitars, assagais, and bows and arrows. There were at the time only thirty-five Portuguese capable of bearing arms inside, and even most of these were weak with fever; but Acote, who was now so utterly dependent upon the strangers that if they were driven away he and his followers would certainly be treated as traitors and be put to death, had come to their assistance with about a hundred men, and they were enclosed within walls on which cannon were mounted. The assailants crossed the moat by filling a section of it with pieces of wood, and then endeavoured to scale the wall, at the same time pouring in a shower of arrows and assagais. Some of these weapons had burning matter attached to them, the object being to set fire to the roofs of the buildings, but Pedro d'Anaya had provided against this by removing the thatch from the houses that were most exposed and laying in a good supply of water. Very little harm was done therefore beyond wounding a few of Acote's people. On the other side the defenders with their artillery and crossbows caused such execution that the enemy, finding their efforts useless to break down or get over the wall, after a time began to withdraw discomfited. Pedro d'Anaya with fifteen of the healthiest Portuguese and some of Acote's followers then sallied out and attacked them with swords and lances, putting them completely to flight.

During three days, however, they frequently renewed the attack, though always with the same result. Their camping ground was a palm grove at no great distance, within easy range of the artillery, where some damage was caused to them not only by the balls but by splinters of wood from shattered trees. D'Anaya had two powerful dogs, which were of such use in keeping watch

by day and night and attacking the enemy in sallies that he attributed his preservation largely to them. In the end the Bantu, upon whom the principal part of the fighting fell, were suddenly seized with a conviction that the Mohamedans had brought them there purposely to ensure their destruction, and under this impression they fled homeward, plundering Isuf's village on their way.

That evening Pedro d'Anaya mustered as many men as he could, and in a large boat that he had went up the river. His spies had informed him that Isuf's residence was poorly guarded, as no attack was expected from the fort on account of the sickness there. He proceeded straight to it, and met little resistance as he forced his way in; but the old sheik, though blind, seized an assagai from a bundle that he always kept beside him, and hurled it in the direction of the advancing footsteps. The captain was slightly wounded by it in the neck, but in another instant Isuf's head was rolling on the ground, severed from his body by the sword of Manuel Fernandes. With it as a trophy the Portuguese returned to the fort, where it was set up on the point of a lance upon that part of the wall where the attack was made to strike awe into those who had been his subjects.

On the morning following this daring raid the slain sheik's sons, exasperated by the death of their father and the indignity with which his remains were treated, raised as large a force as they could and attacked the fort again. They advanced with all the fury of desperation and with the feeling that it was their duty to avenge the death of their father, so that the defenders realised that the danger from this little band was greater than from the combined force which they had previously encountered. But the efforts of the assailants were fruitless, as they could not get over the wall, and the defenders kept up a deadly fire upon them, by which

many were killed and wounded. Even the sick assisted with their crossbows, danger acting upon them more powerfully than medicine.

Having failed in this last desperate attempt to reach and crush the strangers who had come to deprive them of the commerce of the country, a revulsion of feeling set in, and the Mohamedans lost all heart. It was the will of God that they should not succeed, their religion taught them, and they submitted. Instead of attempting to devise means for continuing the strife, they began to discuss the question who should be their future head, and as they could not agree among themselves, they actually applied to the Portuguese to decide for them. Both Damião de Goes and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda state that Pedro d'Anaya made Acote sheik, in return for the services performed by him, and the friar João dos Santos confirms this account and relates that in 1586 he found people still living at Sofala who remembered the building of the fort and the events that followed it.* But João de Barros says that through Acote's influence a son of Isuf named Soleiman was made sheik, and that he lived at peace with the Portuguese and in obedience to them until 1507, when he was deposed by Vasco Gomes

* This would seem almost incredible, if it were not a fact that Bantu are longer-lived than Europeans. As an instance of longevity the eldest child of the chief Rarabe, a woman named Tsusa who was well-known to many Europeans, died in the present district of King-Williamstown in October 1837. She is said to have been as active as a European woman of seventy and to have been in possession of all her mental faculties until shortly before her death, though she must have been fully one hundred and ten years of age. She stated that she lived with her grandfather Palo when she was a child, that she was a full-grown woman long before her father crossed the Kei, and that her half-brother Ndlambe was only an infant compared with her. As her mother was attached to that branch of the family of Rarabe of which the mother of Umlawu was the head, or great wife, she favoured the Gaikas, and the mourning for her death was general among those clans.

d'Abreu, captain of Sofala, who selected one of his brothers to succeed him. This brother and some of the principal Mohamedans of the place, it is added, were subsequently banished, as their presence was considered prejudicial to Portuguese interests, and they all died in exile.

Such conflicting statements make it difficult to arrive at the truth, and there are no original documents relating to the transaction to refer to. Very likely, however, Acote was made sheik of the Emozaidi, as he is stated to have been of that sect, and Soleiman sheik of the other Mohamedans; and as the nominal authority of the sons of Isuf was lost so soon afterwards, their names were speedily forgotten. However this may be, Portuguese supremacy was so firmly established that the Mohamedans never again ventured to dispute it.

A few days after these occurrences Pedro d'Anaya was stricken with fever, of which he died. It was a custom at a later date for every officer in command of a remote and secluded station to carry with him a sealed letter from the king, in which temporary successors were named in rotation, so that in case of his death or disability some one would be legally in charge until a new appointment could be made. This custom had not yet come into observance, so that when D'Anaya died, there was no one entitled to take his place. The factor Manuel Fernandes, who was the highest in rank of the remaining officials of the fort, in this emergency assumed the vacant position. He was a man of great energy, and with only the few sick and enfeebled soldiers under his command, aided by unskilled Bantu labourers, he managed to build a strong stone tower at one of the corners of the fort. Carved and dressed blocks for doors and windows had been brought from Portugal, so only the plain work had to be done, but the execution of this was regarded as so meritorious under the circumstances that the king granted him as a reward a coat of arms

with a tower emblazoned on it surmounted by a sheik's head, in remembrance of his having killed Isuf.

A few months after Pedro d'Anaya left Lisbon a ship and a caravel were fitted out to take supplies of military stores and provisions to Sofala and also to search along the South African coast for the crew of Pedro de Mendonça's wrecked vessel and for those with which Francisco d'Albuquerque had sailed from India and that had not since been heard of. Cyde Barbudo was in command of the ship, with authority as commodore, and Pedro Quaresma was in command of the caravel. The principal pilot had acted in the same capacity under Lopo d'Abreu, and had seen Pedro de Mendonça's ship in the position where she was supposed to have been cast ashore, consequently he knew what part of the coast should be examined.

These vessels left the Tagus on the 19th of November 1505, and ran down to thirty-seven degrees and a half south latitude according to their reckoning, when they turned to the north-east expecting to make the land beyond the Cape of Good Hope, but so far out were they in their calculations that they reached the western coast more than thirteen hundred kilometres north of Table Bay. Even at the beginning of the sixteenth century there were few such instances of error in navigation as this. Steering again to the south, on the 18th of April 1506 they cast anchor at the watering place of Saldanha, where they remained eight days. Cyde Barbudo now removed to the caravel, taking his pilot with him, in order to examine the coast, and Pedro Quaresma assumed command of the ship. After sailing from Table Bay they counted the pillars, as the expression then was, that is they kept so close to the land during daylight that they could see everything along it, and on the 2nd of May they reached the watering place of São Bras, which they recognised by the hermitage built there by João da Nova, so little dependence was placed in those

days on any other means than such landmarks for knowing exactly where a ship was.

As it was night when they passed that part of the coast where Pedro de Mendonça's ship was last seen, which was not far to the westward, Cyde Barbudo now tried to run back along it in the caravel, but was unable to do so owing to a strong head wind. He therefore again dropped anchor in Mossel Bay, and sent a convict and a ship's boy to search along the coast. After travelling three days along the beach they returned, and stated that they had found a man's skeleton and part of a mast, beyond which no information was ever obtained concerning the lost ship of Pedro de Mendonça. Her crew must have perished, like many others in later years, in a land inhabited only by barbarians. It was never known either what was the fate of Francisco d'Albuquerque and those with him, whether they went down at sea, or were wrecked on some desolate coast and died there.

On the 16th of May the two vessels left the watering place of São Bras, and keeping close to the shore whenever possible, on the 10th of June Cyde Barbudo arrived at Sofala and Pedro Quaresma on the following day. They found the garrison of the fortress in the last stage of distress. The captain Pedro d'Anaya, as has been already related, had died of fever, as had also the magistrate and seventy-six of the soldiers, and the provisions were nearly exhausted. There was not a single cheering circumstance in connection with the establishment, for the trade carried on had been so trifling as hardly to be worth mention, and the fort was a perfect place of death.

How Sofala came to be selected by its first occupants as the port for the gold trade, when there was a better harbour and a healthier site, with easier access to the interior, at no great distance,—where now the town of Beira stands,—cannot be conjectured, but so it was, and when once occupied no one thought of abandoning it. It

was the king's order that the fort should be held, and Cyde Barbudo therefore reinforced the garrison and replenished the stores. Having done this, he sailed for India, leaving Pedro Quaresma in the caravel to assist Manuel Fernandes. This vessel was afterwards employed for a time in plying between Sofala, Mozambique, and Kilwa, taking provisions and goods from one place to another as they were needed.

On his passage to India Cyde Barbudo touched at Kilwa, where he found matters in a state of confusion. King Manuel had issued instructions prohibiting barter for gold by private individuals, in order to secure the whole trade for the royal treasury, and Pedro Ferreira Fogaça had fitted out a couple of small vessels to assist in suppressing the traffic that had thus become illegal. Among other prizes made by them was one on board of which was a son of the sheik of a small settlement near Kilwa, and as he was a relative of the former emir Abraham, the Portuguese captain kept him and his family prisoners. Mohamed Ankoni, who wished to gain the goodwill of his neighbours, hereupon ransomed the young chief at his own expense, made him presents of rich clothing, and sent him and his family to their home. The young man's father was profuse in expressions of gratitude, and invited Mohamed to visit him, suggesting marriages between their children. The *king* of Kilwa accepted the invitation, and was murdered while he was lying asleep in the zambuco in which he went. The treacherous sheik, by whose order the deed was committed, excused himself by saying that the duty of avenging the emir Abraham, whose blood relative he was, was more binding upon him than gratitude for a favour conferred by such a man as Mohamed Ankoni.

At once there was a dispute as to the succession, which does not seem to have carried much dignity with it, for the *king* of Kilwa was a mere servant of the Portuguese. As long as he ruled his own people in a

manner satisfactory to the Christians, he might be permitted to retain the title, but he could have no dealings of importance with outsiders, and, as has been seen, he had no freedom whatever in commercial matters. Still, humiliating as the position was, it was coveted by more than one individual. A few of the inhabitants of Kilwa and most of the Portuguese officers were in favour of Hadji Husain, son of Mohamed Ankoni; but Pedro Ferreira Fogaça and the great majority of the Mohammedan people desired that Micante, the legitimate heir of the ancient rulers, should be appointed. The dispute aroused strong feeling on both sides. The cessation of commerce caused by King Manuel's order and the seizure of their vessels under any pretence by the Portuguese was causing utter ruin to the mercantile class, so that from one cause or the other large numbers of people were leaving the town with the intention of settling somewhere else, and it appeared as if Kilwa would soon be uninhabited. This was the condition of things when Cyde Barbudo put into the harbour, and which he reported to the viceroy as soon as he arrived in India.

Upon learning these occurrences Dom Francisco d'Almeida immediately appointed a new staff of officials for Sofala. He selected Nuno Vaz Pereira, a man of generally recognised ability, to be captain, and gave him in addition large powers as commissioner to settle affairs at Kilwa. Ruy de Brito Patalim accompanied him as chief alcaide of the fortress, and Antonio Raposo and Sancho Sanches as notaries. A number of gentlemen without office, who were attached by friendship to the new captain, also went with him. Among these were Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos, Antonio de Sousa, and Fernão Magalhães* who afterwards

* The name of Nuno Vaz Pereira occupies no mean place among those of the heroes of Portugal, and we have seen him at a little later date taking a prominent part in the great naval battle off Diu which gave his country command of the Indian sea. But his fame is eclipsed by that of his friend Fernão Magalhães (or in

entered the service of Castile and discovered the strait which still bears his name. Francisco d'Anaya at the same time returned to Sofala to look after the property left by his father. In order that Pereira might appear in a manner befitting his dignity, the viceroy sent two ships under his flag, the one in which he sailed himself and another commanded by his nephew.

At the end of November 1506 he reached Melinde, where the Portuguese were always well received. The dependent position of the ruler of that town is shown, however, by his receiving as a favour on this occasion permission to send under twenty kilogrammes weight of Indian beads to Sofala to be exchanged for gold. At Melinde Nuno Vaz Pereira learned all particulars of the condition of things at Kilwa. He saw at once that King Manuel's order regarding trade was causing the depopulation of the two places on the coast—Sofala and Kilwa—where it could be enforced, owing to the presence of Portuguese garrisons; and that elsewhere it was having little effect beyond exasperating the Mohamedans. In their light zambucos the people of all the other settlements could run close along the shore, and enter the

English Ferdinand Magellan), who resided with him at Sofala, and is thus slightly connected with South Africa. Magalhães went to India with Dom Francisco d'Almeida, and took part in several of the most celebrated exploits of his countrymen there, including the great battle off Diu and the conquest of Malacca. In 1512 he returned to Portugal, and in the following year went on service in Northern Africa, where he was severely wounded. Afterwards he lost favour with King Manuel, and in 1517 he renounced his allegiance to that monarch and entered the service of Castile. In command of a fleet of five ships, on the 20th of September 1519 he sailed from San Lucar on the memorable voyage in which he discovered and passed through the straits that still bear his name, and sailing still westward crossed the wide ocean that he called the Pacific. Magalhães was killed in battle at the Philippine islands on the 27th of April 1521, and only one ship of his fleet—the *Vittoria*—completed the voyage, being the first vessel that sailed round the globe.

rivers, particularly the Zambesi, where they could carry on commerce without fear of capture. It appeared to him that if the ocean was so guarded that supplies of goods could not be obtained by sea from India, the traffic would be diverted into a route mainly overland; it could not be destroyed by any force which Portugal could furnish. On the other hand, by permitting private trade the people of Kilwa would remain there, and the king's treasury would be benefited, for they would purchase goods wholesale at the Portuguese factory and pay for them in gold, ivory, and other produce of the country. Nuno Vaz Pereira therefore took upon himself the responsibility of suspending the king's order as far as Kilwa was concerned, and announced that its people might carry on trade again in exactly the same manner as in the time of the emir Abraham until further instructions should be received from Lisbon.

This course of action had the desired effect. In the middle of December the commissioner arrived at Kilwa, and with him were more than twenty zambucos filled with emigrants returning to their homes. He caused Micante and Hadji Husain to appear before him and state their cases, and with them he summoned all the principal men of the town to express their opinions and wishes. The general voice was in favour of Micante, but to make it plain that the Portuguese had the power of appointing any one they chose, as Hadji Husain produced the patent granted by Dom Francisco d'Almeida to his father, decision was given in his favour, and he was proclaimed *king* of Kilwa. The inhabitants, who were elated with the privilege of being able to carry on trade again, submitted without open remonstrance, though they were by no means satisfied.

Nuno Vaz Pereira, after thus arranging matters at Kilwa, appointed his friend Luis Mendes de Vasconcellos to a vacant office in the fortress, and then sailed for Sofala, where he took over the captaincy from Manuel

Fernandes. This officer, feeling aggrieved that after his display of so much zeal and energy he had not received the fixed appointment to the first position in the place, declined to resume the duty of factor, and proceeded to India when the ships that brought Pereira returned.

At Sofala there was nothing that the ablest man in Portugal could have done to improve the condition of affairs, and during the few months that Nuno Vaz Pereira was captain of the fort nothing was attempted to be done. The officials were busy endeavouring to obtain information upon the condition of the country and its inhabitants, and naturally tried to ascertain all that they could of the locality where gold was found, of the route to it, and of the method of obtaining the precious metal there. The knowledge that they acquired was too vague and unreliable to be of much service, all that was certain being that no gold was found within a great distance of Sofala, and that though this was the ocean gateway to the interior, the road that led from it was full of obstructions.

CHAPTER XI.

OCCUPATION OF THE ISLAND OF MOZAMBIQUE AND PROGRESS OF EVENTS AT SOFALA.

INTELLIGENCE of the death of Pedro d'Anaya reached Portugal almost as soon as India, and the king, not knowing that the viceroy had sent a successor to fill the post, appointed a gentleman named Vasco Gomes d'Abreu captain of Sofala. He was also entrusted with another duty, which was regarded as necessary now that the Indian trade was year after year assuming larger proportions. In the long passage between Lisbon and the coast of Malabar there was as yet no station where a ship if damaged could be repaired, or where a supply of cordage and spars could be obtained if these were needed. Water was usually taken in at the island of Saint Helena, but the want of a sheltered harbour there prevented that station from being used as a place of refuge by vessels in distress.

A hospital too was badly needed somewhere between Europe and India. In the short voyages of earlier years, when very little salted meat was eaten, scurvy was not dreaded, but now that the diet of seamen was of necessity changed, when the biscuit and peas became mouldy and the beef and pork were hard with salt, when the full allowance of wine (about an English pint and a quarter daily) could not be served out owing to lack of space for storage, that disease caused great havoc on shipboard. A remedy for these wants was now to be supplied.

Ever since the first voyage of Vasco da Gama the island of Mozambique had been used as a place where ships that became scattered either on the outward or homeward passage met again, the earliest that arrived waiting for the others, and then all sailing together. At that time it could not be called a place of refreshment, because nothing grew on the island, and the Mohamedans, though some of them had small plantations on the other side of the harbour, neither produced nor imported more than sufficient for their own needs. Even the fresh water that was used by the inhabitants had to be brought in boats from the mainland, as there was neither fountain nor stream in their island home. It was not in a central position either, for the passage between it and Europe was usually computed as being four times the length of that between it and India.

But for the Portuguese, just as for the Mohamedans before them, the place had strong attractions. The island was absolutely secure from attack by the Bantu on the coast, a matter of great importance. It possessed a perfectly sheltered and sufficiently capacious harbour, accessible at all times. The mainland, within easy reach by boats, was fertile, and vegetables and fruit could be grown there in quantities sufficient to meet all demands. The cultivators could pursue their occupations by day, and retire to the island to pass the night, where they could sleep in absolute safety, and yet be no farther from their fields than they would be if living and working on many estates in Portugal. The island might thus be likened to a castle, and the ground along the shore of the mainland to the fields cultivated by the lord of the manor. It formed an excellent depôt or centre of trade, where ivory, wax, gum, millet, and other articles obtainable either farther up or farther down the seaboard could be collected and stored.

Ever since the fall of Kilwa, to which city Mozambique had been subject, the Mohamedan residents had

been entirely submissive to the Portuguese, and were quite unable to make any armed resistance, so that no difficulty would be experienced in taking entire possession of the island and as much of the mainland as should be required. It was believed to be not more unhealthy than any other part of the East African coast, where fever was known to prevail at all places yet visited, and it was supposed that residents would soon become acclimatised. At any rate everybody could not live at Cintra,* most people must take their chances in less favoured localities.

Sofala was not adapted for a port of call, as it was dangerous to approach with large vessels, owing to the extensive shoal that lay along that part of the coast, and there was not sufficient water on the bar of the river to allow them to enter the inner harbour safely except at high spring tides. When once across the bar, the harbour was capable of accommodating the zambucos that plied along the coast and even the dhows that crossed over the Indian sea, but not the largest ocean-going European ships.

It was therefore considered advisable by the king to form such an establishment at Mozambique that the fleets should always be able to obtain whatever they needed, that if they were obliged to wait on the coast for a change of monsoon they might have a good and easily accessible port to lie at anchor in, and that a properly furnished hospital might be ready for the reception of scurvy-stricken soldiers and sailors arriving from Europe. For these purposes Vasco Gomes d'Abreu was instructed by the king to erect the necessary buildings, and a competent staff of officials was provided to perform the duties. It was not intended that Mozambique should be a separate government, but be connected with Sofala, one captain having command of both places. He was to

* Believed to be the healthiest place in Portugal.

reside at the island, whenever possible, during the months in which the Indian fleets usually arrived there, and during the remainder of the year at Sofala, leaving a subordinate officer at each place to carry out his orders during his absence. Duarte de Mello was appointed factor of the new establishment, and Ruy Varella notary.

Vasco Gomes sailed from the Tagus on the 20th of April 1507 as commodore of seven ships. The one in which he sailed and four others, commanded respectively by Lopo Cabreira, Pedro Lourenço, Ruy Gonçalves de Valadares, and João Chanoca, were to remain as a fleet of war to guard the African coast south of Melinde and suppress the ocean traffic of the Mohamedans, and the other two, under Martim Coelho and Diogo de Mello, that were laden with supplies of food and munitions of war, were to join the naval force commanded by Affonso d'Albuquerque in the gulf of Aden. At Cape Verde João Chanoca's ship ran on shore at night and was lost, but the people on board got safely to land, and after being plundered by the negro inhabitants, were rescued by the commodore.

The new captain arrived at Sofala on the 8th of September 1507, and the government was immediately transferred to him by Nuno Vaz Pereira, who embarked in the ship under command of Ruy Gonçalves de Valadares, that was to be sent on to Mozambique, as she contained the woodwork and some of the other materials needed for the buildings that were to be constructed there. On the 19th she and the vessels under Martim Coelho and Diogo de Mello sailed, and soon afterwards fell in with a ship under command of Jorge de Mello Pereira that had left Portugal for India before them. The greater number of her crew were helpless with scurvy, so they kept her in company and gave her as much assistance as they could. On the 24th of October they all reached Mozambique, where they found they could go no farther until the change of the monsoon, and there

they were joined in a few days by three other ships on the way to India, commanded by Fernão Soares, Filippe de Castro, and Henrique Nunes de Lião. The factor Duarte de Mello and the other officers appointed by the king to the Mozambique establishment had been sent on with Ruy Gonçalves de Valadares to prepare stone for the buildings to be erected, and Vasco Gomes sent with them the plans that had been prepared in Portugal and letters to the commanders of any ships that might be there, requesting them to assist in the work, as it was for the service of the king, and he would be unable for some time to leave Sofala to direct it in person.

One and all, the captains of the various ships at anchor in the harbour entered with enthusiasm into the matter, for the project met with their entire approval. The seamen also were not averse to labouring on shore, as they also took a warm interest in what was going on, and it relieved them from the monotony of life in the crowded vessels. All therefore that could be spared from attending on the sick and keeping things in order on board were landed every morning, and set to work with a will. The stone was soon quarried, lime was prepared, and then, as Vasco Gomes d'Abreu did not make his appearance, they set about building. They had plans of all that was to be done, and the parts of the structures that required skilled workmanship or foreign materials had been brought from Portugal, so that rapid progress could be made. They first erected a large and comfortable hospital with its necessary appurtenances, which would have been of the greatest advantage if the climate of the island had not been so unhealthy that serious illness was almost invariably followed by speedy death. Men afflicted with scurvy, however, arriving there during the least insalubrious months, might hope to escape the deadly fever and dysentery, and to recover from that complaint. And scurvy, it must be remembered, was in those days of long voyages and no other diet than

salted provisions the disease most dreaded by Europeans frequenting the eastern seas.

A church, dedicated to Saint Gabriel, was the building next taken in hand. It is said by the early historians to have been large and well finished and ornamented, but it is probable that most of the ornamentation was done at a later date, and that little more than the walls and roof was completed at this time. A large space around it was enclosed for a cemetery, and here the graves were soon more numerous than in any other churchyard of the Portuguese out of Europe, so great was the mortality among the sick landed from the outward bound Indian fleets, notwithstanding the care and attention bestowed upon them in the hospital. Nowhere else was the drain upon the limited population of Portugal so observable as here, yet it did not attract much attention at the time, as seamen and soldiers to supply the places of those who perished were still obtainable. It would seem that when a country is making extraordinary efforts in any direction,—and Portugal was then engaged in a task altogether beyond the power of her people to sustain for any length of time,—there is a callous indifference to the loss of life. The hospital at Mozambique was indeed designed and maintained to preserve men, but it was in order that commerce should not be crippled by ships becoming disabled, not because any one foresaw that the kingdom must speedily become exhausted if the drainage went on.

Lastly a fort of the simplest kind, with magazines and quarters for the officials and the garrison, was commenced. The fort was on the site of the present residence of the governor, and was nothing more than a solid square structure protecting and forming the outer walls of buildings two stories high, which opened upon a courtyard admitting light and air. It was not a stronghold in the usual sense of the word, though it answered the purpose for which it was intended for more than half

a century. The warehouses in it were large, as the king had resolved to make Mozambique a depôt from which goods should be distributed to all parts of the African coast, and to which the gold, ivory, ambergris, wax, gum, and other products of the continent should be sent to be forwarded to India or Europe. Here also were to be stored everything needed for the repair of damaged ships and supplies of provisions for such as should be in want of them. These buildings were commenced in 1507 by the men of the ships detained in the harbour by the unfavourable monsoon, and were completed after their departure by those stationed on the island, with such assistance as could be obtained from vessels that called.

Thus the island of Mozambique, which in later years became the principal seat of government of the Portuguese on the eastern coast of Africa, was taken possession of without any opposition on the part of its Mohamedan occupants. Vasco Gomes d'Abreu, to whom the task of forming the establishment there was entrusted, never saw the work that had been done. After strengthening the garrison of Sofala and landing supplies of provisions, he erected a new hall and improved the buildings in the fort, and while this was being done a caravel of forty tons burden was put together, the timber for which had been brought from Portugal ready prepared. Then, having generally arranged matters at that place, he left the chief alcaide Ruy de Brito Patalim in command during his absence, and set sail with the three ships of his squadron and the caravel. Whether he intended to proceed to Mozambique or to cruise along the coast was not known, and some persons even suspected that he designed to explore the island of Madagascar, where it was rumoured that valuable spices were to be found.* Some time after

* This rumour had its origin in some samples of spice being obtained at Madagascar, but it was ascertained at a later date that they had formed part of the cargo of a junk wrecked there,

he set out the fringe of one of those terrible cyclones that occasionally cause widespread destruction in the islands of the Indian sea passed over Sofala, and it was supposed that he perished in it. Nothing but a broken mainmast, which drifted on shore at Kilwa, was ever seen of any of the three ships or the caravel again.

Ruy de Brito Patalim remained in command until September 1509, when Antonio de Saldanha, whom the king appointed captain of Sofala and Mozambique when the death of Vasco Gomes d'Abreu was no longer doubtful, arrived at the gold port and took over the government. At the same time Duarte Teixeira assumed duty there as factor. It had been ascertained by experience that goods of European manufacture were not in demand by the Bantu, so that henceforward only Indian wares—chiefly calico and beads—were sent to Sofala to be bartered for gold and ivory. The calico was of a coarse but strong kind, and was usually sold in squares, though sometimes in pieces about three metres and a half in length and one in width, to be used as loin cloths. The beads were of various sorts, as the fashion in colour and size was constantly changing. These articles and some others in smaller quantities were brought from India to Mozambique in Portuguese ships, and were there stored in the king's warehouses until requisitions were sent from Sofala, Kilwa, and other trading stations, to which they were forwarded in the caravels employed on the coast.

Kilwa did not long remain a garrison town. Hadji Husain, who had been made its *king* by Nuno Vaz Pereira, turned his whole thought to avenging the death of his father, and by means of large gifts obtained the assistance of a powerful Bantu tribe under a chief with the high-sounding name of Munhamonge, that is Lord of all. This chief with a strong army marched by land,

Until this was known, the exploration of Madagascar and the discovery of the valuable spice trees formed an allurements to the Portuguese officials in East Africa.

while Hadji Husain with as many Mohamedans as he could muster by devotion, pay, or force proceeded by sea, and together they attacked the settlement of the treacherous sheik and completely destroyed it. Munhamonge and his followers were rewarded with most of the captives and the spoil, and Hadji Husain was satisfied with revenge, though the sheik himself escaped.

Everywhere on the coast the Mohamedans were indignant that a man who had gained the distinction of being a hadji by making a pilgrimage to Mecca should have called in the aid of Kaffirs against people of his own faith, and should have left disciples of the koran as slaves in the hands of infidels. This indignation was increased by the haughty attitude assumed by Husain, who, relying upon Portuguese protection, wrote to the different sheiks in the country in a tone of superiority, and by the heavy taxation which he imposed upon his subjects to make good the personal losses he had sustained by his gifts to Munhamonge. To all Mohamedans, subjects and strangers alike, he became an object of detestation. The friendly ruler of Melinde and the vassal ruler of Zanzibar, who was believed to be thoroughly loyal to King Manuel, wrote to the viceroy that if he wished for peace in the land he should deprive Husain of power, and Dom Francisco d'Almeida, to put an end to the disturbance, instructed Pedro Ferreira Fogaça to depose the *king* of Kilwa and substitute another. This was accordingly carried into effect. Hadji Husain, who feared assassination if he remained in his native town, merely begged to be sent to Mombasa, and there shortly afterwards he ended his days in extreme poverty and distress.

The vacant situation was first offered to the fugitive emir Abraham, whose acceptance of it would have satisfied every one; but he distrusted the Portuguese so much that he declined the overture. It was then given to Micante, the former rival of Hadji Husain. This man's

habits were those of a licentious drunkard, and he soon became as much despised by the Portuguese as hated by his subjects on account of his cruelty and his lawless amours. The consequence was that numbers of the people of Kilwa abandoned the place and joined Abraham, who was living at some distance on the mainland.

The three years term of office of Pedro Ferreira Fogaça having expired, he was succeeded by Francisco Pereira Pestana as captain of Kilwa. This officer found affairs in great disorder, and depression ruling among the people owing to the trading regulations that were again being enforced by order of King Manuel. Foreign commerce by sea was entirely cut off, and intercourse with the Bantu was restricted as much as possible, because the king and his advisers feared that Mohamedan influence might prevent the reception of Christianity by these people. Nuno Vaz Pereira's opinion that the treasury would not suffer by allowing the inhabitants of Kilwa to barter gold as in olden times might be correct, but the pious king had the propagation of the Christian faith also at heart, and could not permit it to be endangered. And so the largest, best built, and most famous town on the East African coast, the town that once had dominion from Melinde to Cape Correntes, was dwindling away to an insignificant village.

Things were in this condition when Micante declared war against Abraham, of whom he was extremely jealous. The emir had a strong body of followers, and he obtained powerful Bantu allies, with whom he not only drove back the army sent against him, but made a descent upon Kilwa in his turn. There were at the time only forty Portuguese soldiers in the fort capable of bearing arms, all the others being ill with fever. The healthy men went to Micante's assistance, but were defeated in an engagement, and several of them were killed, though the fort was not taken. After this there were many incursions on both sides, in one of which Abraham's party suffered

heavy losses as they were crossing the strait between the island and the mainland, and one of his nephews was made prisoner. Still nothing decisive occurred, and hostilities went on with no other result than destruction of property and loss of life. Micante indeed gained some respect from the Portuguese by his personal valour, and he was as submissive to them as could be desired, but otherwise there was little or no improvement in his conduct.

When information of this reached King Manuel he determined to withdraw the garrison from Kilwa, which was no longer a place of any importance either for strategic or commercial purposes. Affonso d'Albuquerque was then captain-general and governor of India, and cared nothing about the retention of a stronghold established by Dom Francisco d'Almeida, so took no steps to change the king's decision. Orders were issued to Francisco Pereira Pestana to dismantle the fort, remove the king's property of every kind to ships provided for the purpose, and retire to Socotra with the men under his command. As Micante was entirely dependent upon the Portuguese, this order deprived him of all power and influence. He fled to Querimba, where he died in poverty and obscurity. Negotiations were opened with the emir Abraham, who at first suspected treachery, but when the Portuguese had embarked and were ready to set sail he consented to an interview on the water with Francisco Pereira Pestana, and was recognised by him as ruler of Kilwa in vassalage to King Manuel. Abraham accepted the position, and kept his agreement faithfully as long as he lived. The fugitives from the town returned, and order was restored under the emir's prudent management, but the importance and glory of the place were gone for ever. Under the stringent commercial regulations that were in force it sank almost out of sight within a very few years. Thus the first fort built and occupied by the Portuguese on the East African coast was abandoned by them, and that

while they were still in the full career of conquest and under the direction in the east of the great Affonso d'Albuquerque.

Sofala was now the station where it was hoped the greatest profit from trade would be gained, as it was the port from which the Mohamedans had sent away all the gold and much of the ivory obtained in South-Eastern Africa. But the Portuguese were as yet without experience of the only way of obtaining these articles, and imagined that if they could prevent the former itinerant dealers from going inland and could keep up a good supply of merchandise in their factory, everything that the country produced would be brought to them for sale at their own prices. The Mohamedan mixed-breeds, living like Kaffirs and caring little whether they were one month or twelve on an expedition, travelled about the country with a few slaves carrying their wares, and if gold and ivory were not at hand, were content to wait till they were collected, all the time tempting the blacks by a display of articles that they coveted most. The Portuguese, on the contrary, sat still and waited for what never came.

Among the officers who accompanied Pedro d'Anaya when he went to build the fortress and establish the factory was one named Diogo d'Alcaçova who remained there long enough, as he thought, to learn the condition of affairs in the country, but as he suffered much from fever, he was sent to India by an early opportunity, and was at Cochin on the 20th of November 1506 when he wrote a long report to the king, which is still in existence. He professed to have made a special study of the gold trade, and in this report he stated that in former times from one million to one million three hundred thousand maticals of gold (equal in English money to £446,875 to £580,937) were exported from Sofala every year. But this was certainly a gross exaggeration, though it is impossible to say by what figure that amount should

be divided to arrive at the truth. His own estimate of the number of the inhabitants of the two villages of Sofala—four hundred in each—is sufficient proof that one tenth of that quantity of the precious metal could not have passed yearly through so small a place. In those days when the purchasing power of gold was so much greater than it is now, the amount he mentioned would have sufficed to support a lordly city. Alcaçova must have been a man of little judgment, and in all probability he did not understand a word of the language of the country. Lying ill with fever the greater part of the time he was there, his opportunities for acquiring information upon the trade of bygone years must have been very slight.

That little or no gold was brought to the Portuguese factory while he was resident in it he attributed to wars between different sections of Bantu, which made the country unsafe to travel in. The great Karanga tribe was then splitting into two independent communities hostile to each other, if his account of this occurrence is to be trusted, and it is by no means improbable. Peace was not concluded between the different factions, he thought, because the Mohamedan rulers of Kilwa and Sofala, who could bring it about, were unwilling to do so, as they did not wish the Christians to obtain the profits of the trade. In thus blaming the Mohamedans for the disappointments the Christians were sustaining, Alcaçova was but following the common custom of his countrymen, and such statements are never to be implicitly relied upon. In this instance, it would be absurd to suppose that the puppet heads of the Moslem communities at Kilwa and Sofala could have held in their hands the balance of peace or war between the main divisions of the Karanga tribe.

In September 1508 Duarte de Lemos, an officer of ability, who was then the highest in command on the East African coast, wrote to the king from Mozambique

that only £894 to £1341 worth of gold had been obtained at Sofala from the departure of Vasco Gomes d'Abreu to that time. He believed that it was plentiful in the country, and there was an abundance of merchandise in the factory, still it was not brought for barter. In his opinion the reason was that the Mohamedans along the coast south of Mozambique were all engaged in a smuggling trade, which could not be prevented, as they conveyed the gold and their goods in little boats and fishing canoes that it was not possible for the caravels guarding the sea to capture. Merchants from Arabia and Persia resorted to secluded places, and maintained this clandestine trade, providing the retail dealers with goods and receiving the gold from them in return. Even in Mozambique he believed there were some merchants from the north engaged in this traffic, so detrimental to the king's treasury. Certain it was that they purchased from the crews of ships arriving there calico which the men had for sale on their own account, and which they obtained for a mere trifle. There was but one remedy for the evil in his opinion, and that was to expel every Mohamedan from the whole country south of Mozambique. Sofala, he was assured, was not an unhealthy place, for during the preceding year not a single individual had fallen ill there. The only article of European manufacture that was suited for commerce in the country was Flemish linen, which would need to be broad enough to be used for loin cloths.

That some trade was carried on by the Mohamedans with the Bantu in defiance of the Portuguese is highly probable, but that it amounted to a very large sum in gold yearly is not at all likely. The difficulty of getting goods into the country must have prevented that. The Mohamedans had always lived by commerce, and no doubt were shrewd and wary dealers, they knew the country and its people and could easily escape observation by the Christians, but without a source of supply, now that their

ships were destroyed and their connection with India entirely cut off, they could not traffic to the extent the Portuguese believed they were doing. Possibly they may have dealt in a very small way in native made cloth, but even that would have necessitated their possession of beads and bangles, which they could only obtain at great risk by means of zambucos coming down from the north. According to Duarte Barbosa they were reduced to such straits that they began to cultivate cotton and manufacture loin cloths themselves, but this, if correct at all, can only have been on a very limited scale.

In October 1512 Antonio de Saldanha, who had then served the full term of three years as captain of Sofala, was succeeded in that office by Simão de Miranda de Azevedo, with whom came as factor a very intelligent man named Pedro Vaz Soares. When the captain was absent on his periodical visits to Mozambique, the factor acted as commandant of the fort, and in that capacity on the 30th of June 1513 he wrote to the king a long and interesting report upon the condition of things there, which, unlike most of the documents of that period, has fortunately escaped destruction. Before this report was written a slight change had taken place in respect to commercial transactions with Mohamedans. From those at Sofala gold was now bartered in exchange for merchandise, though they could only obtain it by going inland and dealing with the Bantu, thus to that extent at least the earlier regulations had been relaxed. Mohamedans were also employed by the Christians in various capacities, though only to a limited extent, and under circumstances where no other persons could perform the same service.

Soares reported that during the eight months of his residence at Sofala he had only obtained in barter gold to the value of from £2905 to £3128, the greater part of which was procured from the Mohamedan residents. Bantu traders from the interior he had seen so seldom that from them he had not bartered £223 worth. The

country was in a state of perfect peace, and every one was free to come and go in security, for the captain had made agreements to that effect with numerous Bantu chiefs and was paying them fixed subsidies every six moons to keep the trading routes open. There was gold in various parts of the country, but no one possessed a sufficient quantity to make it worth his while to bring it to Sofala for sale, therefore the Mohamedans went inland with merchandise and established fairs at suitable places. These Mohamedans secretly prejudiced the Christians in the eyes of the Bantu, whom they discouraged from proceeding to the factory by telling them that goods were dearer there than in the interior as offered for sale by them. The gold that was procured was mostly in very small pieces like tiny beads, only a trifling proportion being melted into nuggets, such as were obtainable on the western coast of Africa.

The receipts of the factory were not more than sufficient to cover the cost of its maintenance and that of the caravels employed on the coast below Mozambique, and on one occasion the captain was even obliged to make use of the property of deceased persons to meet current expenses. Soares was of opinion that under these circumstances retrenchment was advisable, as a smaller and less expensive establishment would serve the purpose now that the land was at peace and the Portuguese perfectly secure. The Mohamedans at the islands of Angosha and on the lower banks of the Zambesi, he asserted, drew away the greater portion of the trade, on which account they ought to be expelled, when matters would improve.

The captain Simão de Miranda de Azevedo had endeavoured to establish a trading station on the Zambesi and explore the river upward, and for that purpose had sent an embassy to a Bantu chief residing on a large island between two mouths of the stream to propose friendship and alliance with him. A favourable reply was received, upon which a caravel was despatched to the

river with a quantity of merchandise and a factor and secretary. Some respectable Mohamedans of Sofala were engaged to go in her to be the means of communication with the chief, to whom presents of some value were forwarded. Upon her arrival the resident Mohamedans induced the chief to ask that her captain with the factor and secretary should visit him to ratify his agreement with the Portuguese, and when they with a bombardier who acted as interpreter went on shore for the purpose without suspicion of danger, all were immediately murdered. The Sofala Mohamedans, who were on land at the time, swam off to the caravel, which was soon afterwards attacked by a number of zambucos containing men armed with bows and arrows. Her crew defended themselves with their crossbows and bombs, and were fortunate enough to be able to cut their cables and escape.

Soares reported that a considerable quantity of ivory was procurable, and that a very large profit was to be made on it. Since his arrival he had bartered for articles of trifling value about three thousand kilogrammes, which had been sent to India to meet the cost of merchandise that had been applied for.

Of the affairs of Sofala during the time that Christovão de Tavora was captain, that is from 1515, when he succeeded Francisco Marecos who acted for a few months after the death of Simão de Miranda de Azevedo, to 1518, when Sancho de Toar assumed the command, nothing is known. The original reports are no longer in existence, and the early historians are silent about the place, from which, however, it may be assumed that nothing of consequence occurred. Sancho de Toar, the same officer who was sent by Pedro Alvares Cabral to gather information about the locality and the gold trade, became captain of Sofala in September 1518, and at the same time Francisco de Brito took over the duties of factor. In circumstances similar to those under which Pedro Vaz

Soares reported to King Manuel six years earlier, De Brito on the 8th of August 1519 addressed to the same monarch a long letter, which is still preserved in the archives at Lisbon.

At that time trade and even communication with the interior was cut off, owing to internecine wars among Bantu clans or tribes. A powerful chief named Inyamunda, who resided at no great distance from Sofala, was engaged in hostilities with the monomotapa, the people of Manica, and others farther inland; and the trading routes were closed, as travellers were liable to be robbed and murdered. At the factory therefore the outlay was as usual, while there was hardly any income, a condition of things which was very dispiriting to the officials. A vessel from India bringing merchandise for Sofala had arrived at Tshiloane, an island about fifty-six kilometres or thirty-five English miles distant, and had discharged her cargo, consisting of calico of different qualities, beads, pieces of tin, and small coins. The cost price of these articles is stated by the factor, and also the price at which they were bartered in Sofala when any trade was being done, from which it is seen that the smallest profit on any thing was four hundred per cent, and that on some things it rose to two thousand eight hundred per cent. The pieces of tin and the coins that were not required to pay salaries were evidently disposed of as ornaments, for money was not in use by the Bantu, all transactions with them being by barter. During the eleven months that De Brito had been factor he had obtained gold to the value of a little over £358 and eight thousand four hundred kilogrammes of ivory, of which the cost is not given.

Sancho de Toar had resolved to establish a trading outpost on the southern bank of the Zambesi about fifty-six kilometres or thirty-five English miles above its mouth, and for that purpose had caused a square timber tower to be constructed, which could be taken to pieces

and conveyed in caravels to its destination, there to be put together again. The completion of the project had been delayed, however, as one of the caravels had recently been wrecked at Tshiloane, and another, which had been built at Mozambique to assist in guarding the coast, had been lost on the bar when bringing a cargo of millet for the use of the garrison of the fort. She had not long previously taken a prize, but had left part of the spoil at Mozambique, and the remainder was on board when she was wrecked. This had happened only a few days before the letter was written. Sancho de Toar had immediately resolved to have another caravel built, as well as a smaller vessel to be stationed at the Kuama mouth of the Zambesi to prevent the entrance of zambucos with merchandise for the Mohamedan traders. Francisco de Brito's chief desire was to get away from a place where neither honour nor profit was to be had, and he earnestly begged the king to transfer him to some other post in India.

In neither of the reports from the factors of Sofala which are still in existence is any mention made of ambergris or pearls, though Duarte Barbosa, who wrote about the same time, states that both were articles of trade among the Mohamedans. Probably the Portuguese had not yet an opportunity to obtain them in barter, as they could so easily be concealed and removed from place to place. The pearls, obtained at the Bazaruta islands, were said to be greatly damaged and discoloured by the method used to extract them, which was by placing the oysters in embers until the flesh was dried away. The pearl fishers were nearly all Mohamedans or slaves, as the Bantu did not engage in the occupation unless compelled to do so by extreme want.

With the report of Francisco de Brito, the substance of which has been given, direct and indirect information alike ceases concerning proceedings at Sofala until some time after the death of King Manuel the Fortunate,

which took place on the 18th of December 1521, and the accession of his son, João III, to the throne of Portugal. That matters there remained without much change as successive captains and factors came and went and the graves of the victims of malarial fever and dysentery grew ever more numerous is, however, certain, for the next clear view given by either historian, chronicler, or manuscript records reveals a state of things differing little from that described.

With regard to the mode of living of the Portuguese at the place, however, some information is to be had from documents of a later date, which contain particulars that must have been applicable to this period also. The death rate was not as high as in Pedro d'Anaya's time, and there were even seasons when there was little or no sickness at all, though on other occasions fever and dysentery caused the loss of many lives. The soldiers as well as the officers were now comfortably housed in the fort, and the water that they drank was rain collected in cisterns, which was very much purer and better than that obtained from wells. The lemon tree had been introduced by the Mohamedans, and its cultivation was attended to by the Portuguese, so that large groves were in existence, from which an abundant supply of fruit was obtained. Mention is made of preserved lemons, so that there may have been a supply all the year round, from which a healthy and refreshing drink could be procured. Oranges were plentiful during half the year, and citrons were also abundant.

Another fruit that had been introduced by the Mohamedans, and the cultivation of which was extended by the Portuguese, was the banana, or Indian fig as termed in Sofala. It grew in the greatest profusion, and could be eaten in a variety of forms. The vegetables of Portugal thrived in gardens, so that there was no lack of lentils, onions, cucumbers, and garlic, and in addition to these they had the sweet potato in plenty. They had

become accustomed to use millet as a staple of diet, but they did not cultivate it themselves, as it could be obtained in barter from the Bantu at very cheap rates, either at Sofala or elsewhere on the coast. It was very largely used also for feeding poultry, which constituted the principal flesh diet of the Portuguese in the country. Hens could be bought in any number required for a few beads each, and were then fattened for the table. Horned cattle and goats, both of small size, were bred by the Mohamedans as well as by the Bantu in the vicinity, so that milk was procurable, and pigs had been introduced by the Portuguese, but the flesh of these animals was only eaten occasionally at Sofala. In this respect the Europeans followed the Bantu custom. Game of different kinds being abundant in the neighbourhood was frequently shot, and afforded a change of diet. Fish of different varieties was obtainable without difficulty. Upon the whole then the men in garrison at Sofala were comfortably lodged and had an abundance of healthy food, still, as they had no opportunities to make money and were almost as secluded as if they had been on shipboard, their lives must have been anything but enviable,

CHAPTER XI.

INTERCOURSE OF THE PORTUGUESE WITH THE BANTU.

WHEN the European fort and trading station at Sofala was formed in 1505 the predominant people in the country between the rivers Zambesi and Sabi were the Mokaranga as termed by the Portuguese, or Makaranga as pronounced by themselves, a word which most modern writers have taken to mean the people of the sun. But that cannot be its signification, for the word *ilanga*—(*l*, *r*, and *d* being convertible letters),—the sun, though used in many Bantu dialects, is unknown in Tshikaranga, in which *izhuba* and *izwari* take its place. If *ilanga* or *iranga* had been used in ancient times the preposition *ka* would not have been inserted. The chief under whom the tribe was first formed may have been named Karanga, or the ancient siboko, before it migrated from the north, may have been the bird known as the honey guide, termed *karanga* by these people at the present day, or possibly the ground nut, which is called *karanga* by some of the northern clans. There is a small tribe called the Wakaranga living on the eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, but whether it was once closely connected with the Makaranga of the south is uncertain. This tribe occupied territory extending from the shore of the Indian ocean westward possibly to the thirtieth meridian from Greenwich, just how far it is impossible to say. It was in all probability the oldest Bantu community in Africa south of the Zambesi, and had occupied the territory on which it was found for several hundred years.

Along the southern bank of the Zambesi in several places, and on the seacoast between the Sabi river and Delagoa Bay, were some tribes of different blood from the Makaranga, and independent of them and of each other. These collectively were called the Batonga, but each section had a distinguishing title of its own. They had not been long in the country where they were found, having recently migrated to it from some locality on or near the gulf of Guinea, and had dropped sections behind on their long march before they reached the eastern coast. There are people of this name in various parts of South Africa still, but it does not follow that they are pure descendants of the Batonga of the sixteenth century. The country has more than once been swept by war since that time, and of the ancient communities many have been absolutely destroyed, while others have been dispersed and reorganised quite differently. There is not a single tribe in South Africa to-day that bears the same title, has the same relative power, and occupies the same ground, as its ancestors four hundred years ago. The people we call Mashona* are indeed descended from the Makaranga of early Portuguese days, and they preserve their old name and part of their old country, but the contrast between their condition and that of the tribe in the period of its greatness is striking. Discord, subjection, and merciless treatment from conquerors have obliterated most of what was good in their forefathers, though under judicious treatment they will probably again rise to a much higher level than that on which they stand at present.

This tribe, the Karanga, was the one with which the Portuguese in the territory south of the Zambesi had most to do. Its paramount chief was called by them the monomotapa, which word, their writers state, meant emperor, but in this they were certainly mistaken. In

* This is a contemptuous nickname given to them by their enemies, and adopted by us unwittingly, but it is now in general use by Europeans.

the dialects of some other Bantu communities it means ruler or possessor of a mountain as a stronghold or holy place, and from some of them it is just possible that the Portuguese may have adopted it. That at Kilwa it could have been used as lord of some mountain of note is certain from the fact of a Portuguese writer, in relating the exploits of a chief whose name or title was Munyamonge, says that word meant master of the world, and his statement is perfectly correct, for it is literally lord of all.

One of the great places, or residences of the monomotapa, was close to the mountain Fura, now Mount Darwin, which, as long as he could prevent it, he would not permit a Portuguese to ascend, probably from some superstition connected with it, though they believed it was because he did not wish them to have a view over as much of his country as could be seen from its top. The Makaranga, when going to this place, most likely used the expression going to the mountain, for the Portuguese soon began to employ the words *á serra* in that sense, without specially defining what mountain was meant. In our own time one of the titles of the Basuto chief Moshesh was lord of the mountain, owing to his possession of the celebrated stronghold Thaba Bosigo, and the Karanga chief may have had the title of monomotapa given to him by other tribes from his possession of Mount Fura.

This is one supposition with regard to the use of the word by the Portuguese, who have given no explanation of it except the incorrect one already mentioned. The Makaranga of the present day have no tradition of a great chief called monomotapa, but they have been so long broken up into little clans independent of each other that all memory of their ancient greatness has been lost. Their language is so different from that of other tribes that instead of mong or mone for ruler, as in the Sesuto monemotse, chief of the village, the Tshikaranga

word is she. Instead of thaba or intaba, a mountain, as used by nearly all other Bantu tribes in South Africa, the Makaranga say igomo. Although in the course of four hundred years many words must have become changed in form and in meaning, that particular word could never have meant lord of the mountain in the Karanga tongue.

The reverend Dr. Livingstone's supposition that monomotapa was derived from Mwene Motape, that is the chief Motape, implies that it was a foreign word, and does not seem to be a satisfactory explanation. The Portuguese used it for more than two centuries, which, if this was correct, they would not have done, unless indeed Motape could be shown to be a dynastic title, which it has not been.

There is still another supposition, which appears more likely to be the true one than any yet put forward. The reverend W. A. Elliott, of the London Missionary Society, in his *Dictionary of the Tebele and Shuna Languages*, says munu mu tapa in the Tshikaranga tongue means the man who plunders. This being so, it could have been used as a praise title of the chief by the official acclaimers, just as Great Conqueror, Great Elephant, Great Despoiler, &c., &c., were shouted out to Tshaka and Dingana whenever those despots appeared in public. The man who plunders would be almost an ideal title of praise in the Bantu mind, because it would signify the power to do so, and by these people power is more respected than anything else. The Portuguese, hearing this expression used whenever the chief was spoken of, might conclude that it had the signification of emperor, and when once it came into general use by them, it might easily be permanently retained.

All this is conjecture, for nothing absolutely certain can now be ascertained from old records or books, or from the Makaranga of the present day, concerning the word monomotapa. When, or in whatever manner it came into use, the Portuguese employed it to signify the

paramount or great chief of the Karanga tribe, and applied it to all who in succession held that position.

Some interest is attached to this word *Monomotapa*, inasmuch as it was placed on maps of the day as if it was the name of a territory, not the title of a ruler, and soon it was applied to the entire region from the Zambesi to the mouth of the Fish river. Geographers, who knew nothing of the country, wrote the word upon their charts, and one copied another until the belief became general that a people far advanced in civilisation, and governed by a mighty emperor, occupied the whole of South-Eastern Africa.

Then towns were marked on the chart, and rivers were traced upon it, and men of the highest standing in science lent their names to the fraud, believing it to be true, until a standard map of the middle of the seventeenth century was as misleading as it was possible to make it. Readers of Portuguese histories must have known this, but no one rectified the error, because no one could substitute what was really correct. And even in recent years educated men have asked what has become of the mysterious empire of Monomotapa, a question that can be so easily answered by reading the books of De Barros, De Couto, and Dos Santos, and analysing the Tshikaranga words which they repeat. Such an empire never existed. The foundation upon which imagination constructed it was nothing more than a Bantu tribe. The error arose mainly from the use of the words emperor, king, and prince to represent African chiefs, a mistake, however, which was not confined to the Portuguese, for it pervades a good deal of English literature of the nineteenth century, where it has done infinitely more to mislead readers than those expressions ever did in times gone by.

The Karanga tribe was larger and occupied a much greater extent of territory than any distinct section of the Bantu family now claims in South Africa. It was held together by the same means as the others, that is

principally by the religious awe with which the paramount chief was regarded, as representing in his person the mighty spirits that were feared and worshipped. There was always the danger of a disputed succession, however, when it might not be certain which of two or more individuals was nearest to the line of descent, and therefore the one to whom fealty was due. How long the tribe had existed before the Portuguese became acquainted with it, and whether it had attained its greatness by growth from a single community or by conquest of previously independent bands by one stronger than the others, cannot be ascertained, but it had not occupied territory south of the Zambesi more than five or six centuries at the utmost, and very shortly afterwards it was broken up into several separate chieftaincies distinct from each other. It was homogeneous, that is every section of it spoke the same dialect and had the same customs as all the others.

The tribe belonged to that section of the Bantu family which generally speaking occupies the interior of the country. Its earlier home, like that of the Betshuana, was on the border of Lake Tanganyika, but it had lived on the eastern side of that sheet of water, while the Betshuana had lived on the western. Owing to this circumstance, and in all probability to its longer and closer intercourse with foreign traders who frequented the coast of the Indian sea, it had developed a language which, though retaining the structure of all Bantu dialects, differed so much in its vocabulary from Setshuana that the men of one community could not understand the speech of the men of the other. The tribe was divided into a great number of clans, each under its own chief, and though all of them acknowledged the monomotapa as their head and superior in rank, the distant clans, even with the religious bond of union in full force, were very loosely connected with the central government. Thus those near the coast were found by the Portuguese

making war on their own account, and acting otherwise in a manner that among Europeans would be regarded as indicating perfect independence. There was one peculiar custom, however, that prevented them from forgetting their dependence upon the paramount chief. Every year at a certain stage of the crops a command was sent throughout the country that when the next new moon appeared all fires were to be put out, and they could only be lit again from the spreading of one kindled by the monomotapa himself.

The Makaranga had developed their religious system and their industries more highly than any of the other tribes of Southern or Eastern Africa. Of all the Bantu they had the largest proportion of Asiatic blood in their veins, which will account for their mental and mechanical superiority. Almost at first sight the Europeans observed that they were in every respect more intelligent than the blacker tribes along the Mozambique coast. Their skulls more nearly approached those of Europeans in shape, many of them had the high nose, the thin lips, and the general features of the people of South-Western Asia.*

* Mr. Sidney Mendelssohn, whose splendid library of books and pamphlets upon South Africa is the admiration—I may add the envy—of all other collectors, resided for many years at Kimberley, and had therefore an opportunity of seeing Bantu from all parts of the country. In a most interesting pamphlet by him, reprinted from the *Journal of the African Society* and published in London in 1914, entitled *Judaic or Semitic Legends and Customs amongst South African Natives*, he states: "I have often watched great crowds of Kaffir labourers coming in for work at the goldfields in the Northern Transvaal, or the diamond fields, and here and there in the great sea of black faces I have seen men of such an unmistakably Jewish cast of features that I have almost felt inclined to greet them as strangers in a strange land." I can find no trace whatever of any probability of an admixture of Jewish blood with that of the Bantu in past times, but there is an absolute certainty of a strong admixture of Arab blood, which will account for what Mr. Mendelssohn observed. His comparisons of Hottentot folklore and Jewish legends are extremely interesting, and point out a line of research which, if diligently followed up, may throw much light upon the origin of the Khoikhoi.

Even their hands and feet were in numerous instances small and well-shaped, unlike those of ordinary blacks, which are large and coarse. Their appearance thus indicated a strong infusion of foreign blood, though not sufficient to denationalise them as Bantu. That blood may not have been Arab alone, it is likely that some was Persian, and almost certainly some was Indian. But they were neither so robust nor so courageous as many of their neighbours. Like their nearest—though still not very close—kindred the Basuto and Bapedi of to-day, they were capable of making a vigorous defence in mountain strongholds, but were disinclined to carry on aggressive warfare, and could not stand against an equal number of men of a Tonga tribe in the open field. Their language was regarded by the Christians as being pleasanter than Arabic to the ear.*

When the Portuguese in 1505 first came in close contact with the Makaranga, the tribe had been engaged in civil war for twelve or thirteen years, and was in a very unsettled condition. A monomotapa, Mokomba by name, had made a favourite of the chief Tshikanga, one of his distant relatives, who was hereditary head of the powerful clan that occupied the district of Manika. Some other chiefs became jealous of the privileges conferred upon this man, and took advantage of his absence on one occasion to instil in the monomotapa's mind that he was a sorcerer and was compassing the death of his benefactor. Thereupon the monomotapa sent him some poison to drink, but instead of obeying, he made an offer of a large number of cattle for his life. The offer was declined, and then in despair he collected his followers,

* This is the testimony of the friar João dos Santos, who lived long among them, and whose valuable work *Ethiopia Oriental* is full of information concerning them. I have translated it into English, and published it in the *Records of South-Eastern Africa*. A language constructed as all Bantu dialects are, and in which almost every word ends with a vowel, is naturally musical to the ear.

who were more loyal to him than to the head of the tribe, made a quick march to the great place, surprised Mokomba, and killed him.

Tshikanga then assumed the government of the tribe. He endeavoured to exterminate the family of his predecessor, and actually put twenty-one of Mokomba's children to death. Only one young man escaped. After four years' exile, this one, whose name is variously given as Kesarinuto or Kesarimyo, returned and collected a force which defeated the usurping monomotapa's army. Tshikanga then took the field himself, adherents gathered on both sides, and a battle was fought which continued for three days and a half. On the fourth day Tshikanga was killed, when his army dispersed, and Kesarimyo became monomotapa. But Tshikanga's son would not submit, and with his ancestral clan kept possession of the Manika district and carried on the war.* To this circumstance the Portuguese attributed the small quantity of gold that was brought to Sofala for sale from the interior of the country. In course of time the war was reduced to a permanent feud, Tshikanga's clan became an independent tribe, and Manika was lost for ever to the monomotapa.

* This account is taken from Diogo d'Alcaçova's report to the king Dom Manuel, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, volume i, page 62. In other but later Portuguese accounts it is stated that a monomotapa in earlier times sent three of his sons to govern three separate districts, of which Manika was one, the coast territory from Sofala northward to the Bango or Pungwe river another, and from Sofala southward to the Sabi river the third, and that upon his death all of them declared themselves independent of their brother, who became great chief in succession to his father, retaining the remainder of the Karanga territory. In other respects Alcaçova is certainly not trustworthy, but I think in this he is more to be depended upon than later writers, who obtained their information solely from legends, and did not go deeply into the matter. He wrote of occurrences that took place in his own time, when he was residing at Sofala, and he gives the names of the actors and details of the events.

For many years after their occupation of Sofala the Portuguese lived on fairly good terms with the Makaranga, and after the failure of Mengo Musaf and his Bantu allies to drive them from the fort in Isuf's time no attempt was made to expel them from the country. They paid subsidies in the form of presents to the nearest chiefs of note, and so secured their good will and freedom for trade. These presents usually consisted of beads, bangles, pieces of coarse calico, and other inexpensive articles, so that the value of the whole was trifling, though it was gladly accepted by the Bantu rulers, whose estimate of beads and gewgaws was similar to what that of European children would be. In return the chiefs sent a tusk or two of ivory, which was often worth as much as what they received.

But even after the employment of the Mohamedans as agents to collect gold and ivory, the amount of commerce carried on was very far short of the earlier anticipations of the Europeans. Their next effort to increase it was by stationing individuals at outposts on the Zambesi, which at first were quite unprotected, and existed entirely by the favour of the people in whose lands they were situated. After various ineffectual attempts by other officials, in 1531 Vicente Pegado, the ablest and most enterprising of all the early captains of Mozambique and Sofala, who had then resided a year in the country, succeeded in establishing a fair at the place afterwards known as Sena, where there was a small Mohamedan village. The particulars of this event are not now on record in manuscript that can be found, and the historians of the time were so deeply engrossed with the stirring deeds of their countrymen in India that they altogether neglected transactions of comparatively little importance in South Africa, but no imagination is needed to understand how it must have taken place. The Bantu would certainly not object to the presence of unarmed traders, and the Mohamedans, who at an earlier date

would have acted either as open or secret enemies, were then in a condition of complete dependence upon the Portuguese.

The contraband trade, as the Europeans termed it, had been almost completely suppressed. There was but one place where foreign merchandise could be obtained, and that was the king's warehouse at Sofala. The factor there, acting under instructions from his government, fixed the price of everything and required an enormous profit on whatever he bought or sold, but a portion of the retail bartering with the Bantu was again in the hands of those who had once enjoyed a monopoly of it. So the Mohamedans at Sena would not object to getting their supplies at home, instead of going to Sofala for them, and besides it was to their interest not to offend their employers. Thus the fair or trading post of Sena came into existence, and the quantity of ivory and gold obtained was so much increased that the captain Vicente Pegado was rewarded for his exertions by being retained in office for the unusual term of eight years.

The exact date of the formation of a similar outstation at Tete cannot be ascertained, but it was not long after the establishment of the fair farther down the river. At both these places for many years white men lived in the same precarious manner as the first English traders in the Xosa country three centuries later. Favoured by the chief one day, abused and robbed by him the next, nothing but the prospect of considerable gain could induce any others than missionaries to exist in such a condition. Those at Sena and Tete were of the class that accommodates itself readily to the habits of barbarians, and in morals at least were little above the Bantu with whom they associated.

In 1544 the factory of Kilimane was founded on the northern bank of the river of Good Tokens, about twenty-four kilometres or fifteen English miles from the sea. The object was partly to carry on commerce with the Bantu

in the neighbourhood, but principally to command the route to the interior by that stream, which was then more used during several months of the year than the other outlets of the Zambesi. The station is still in existence, but as it is beyond the territorial limits dealt with in this narrative, it will not be referred to again.*

In the same year the captain of Sofala and Mozambique sent two men named Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira in a pangayo on an exploring voyage to the southward. They inspected the lower course of the Limpopo river, and ascertained that copper in considerable quantities was to be obtained there from the inhabitants. They then examined the great bay now called Delagoa. Three large rivers flowing from different directions—now known as the Maputa, the Umbelosi, and the Manisa—discharge their waters into this bay, and it was believed that the central one of these, or rather the central one of the streams called the Tembe, the Umbelosi, and the Matola, which have a common estuary, had its source in a great lake far in the interior, hence the Umbelosi and the estuary were named Rio da Lagoa, the River of the Lake.

On the banks of the Umbelosi the explorers saw a great number of elephants, and they purchased tusks of ivory from the inhabitants at the rate of a few beads for each. In the neighbourhood of the Maputa river, which they next visited, elephants were also seen, and ivory was plentiful. The chief of the tribe that occupied the country between this river and the sea, whose hereditary title was Inyaka, was very friendly to his

* Mr. F. C. Selous, the celebrated hunter, who visited it in 1889, describes it as quite a small place, but says the houses of which the town consists are well built, and their red-tiled roofs look very pretty and picturesque amongst the palm trees and banana groves by which they are surrounded. The single street is lit on moonless nights with oil lamps.

European visitors. Though quite black, he was a fine looking old man, with a white beard, and as Marques and Caldeira fancied his features bore some resemblance to those of Garcia de Sá, then captain of Malacca, who was subsequently—1548-9—captain-general and governor of India, and one of whose daughters, Dona Leonor, wife of Manuel de Sousa de Sepulveda, in 1552 perished in a most pitiable manner on the shore of this very bay, they gave him that official's name. We shall meet him again, particularly in the account of the wreck of the galleon *São João*, and shall find that his friendship for white people was not a mere passing whim.

The inspection of the country around the bay was followed at a little later date—the exact time cannot now be ascertained—by a change of names. The Umbelosi with its estuary was thereafter termed by the Portuguese Rio do Santo Espirito, though geographers of other nations continued to call it the river Da Lagoa, until the restoration in recent years of its Bantu name. The bay was thenceforth called by the Portuguese Bahia de Lourenço Marques, though by all other Europeans it was known as Delagoa Bay, and it is still so called.

In 1546 King João III issued instructions that Lourenço Marques should be provided with a suitable vessel to complete the exploration of the coast and to open up a trade with the residents on the shores of the great inlet. This was done, and thereafter a pangayo was usually sent every year or every second year from Mozambique to obtain ivory. While they were engaged in bartering by means of boats manned by Mohamedan mixed-breeds that went up the different rivers, the traders resided on one of the islands Inyaka—so called by the Portuguese from the title of the chief Garcia de Sá,—Elephant, or Shefina, where some rough huts were built for their accommodation, and as soon as all the tusks that had been collected by the inhabitants were purchased, they returned to Mozambique. No permanent factory or fort

was built at this place until a much later date. Lourenço Marques probably remained some years in charge of the trade at the bay which bore his name, as in 1557, in reward for his services there, he was appointed to an important office at Cochin.

At Inhambane, or Nyambana as termed by the Bantu, which is about three hundred and seventy kilometres or two hundred and thirty-one English miles farther up the coast, a similar trade was carried on from this time forward by means of a pangayo sent every year or two from Mozambique. Temporary huts were erected on the site of the present village, off which the pangayo lay at anchor until the traders were ready to return. Neither here nor at Delagoa Bay, any more than at Sena or Tete, did the Portuguese authorities attempt to exercise the slightest control over the Bantu inhabitants. Their object at all these places was simply and solely to carry on commerce, and not by any means to involve themselves in difficulties with the chiefs or peoples. At times indeed the traders were subject to gross ill treatment from barbarous chiefs, which they were obliged to endure patiently, without any effort being made to retaliate or redress their wrongs.

After trade at these places was opened, from thirty to thirty-six thousand kilogrammes or sixty-six thousand to seventy-nine thousand two hundred pounds avoirdupois in weight of ivory was usually collected at Mozambique and sent from that island to India every year until 1551, when only a little more than five thousand kilogrammes or eleven thousand pounds avoirdupois was obtained. The quantity subsequently rose again, but fluctuated greatly according to the condition of the country as regarded peace or war.

The Portuguese, whether soldiers or traders, were in South Africa so circumstanced that they degenerated rapidly. A European female was very rarely seen, and nearly every white man consorted with Bantu women.

Fever, when it did not kill them outright, deprived them of energy, and there was nothing to stimulate them to exertion. Cut off from all society but that of barbarians, often until towards the close of the sixteenth century without the ministrations of the church, sunk in sloth, and suffering from excessive heat and deadly malaria, no lives led by Europeans anywhere could be more miserable than theirs.

The Bantu termed them Bazunga,—singular Mozunga,—and were generally well disposed towards them. Individual white men often gained the confidence of chiefs, and exercised great influence over them. Instances were not wanting of such persons abandoning their former associates, and going to reside permanently either on tracts of land presented to them, where they became petty rulers, or at kraals, where they held authority of some kind under the chiefs. Thereafter they were usually regarded as renegades, though their mode of living was little worse than that of many of their countrymen at the fort and trading stations. They were exemplifying the fact that men are what their environment makes them, and the environment here tended to degradation.

This was the condition of affairs in South-Eastern Africa during the reign of João III, a period far less glorious in the history of Portugal than that in which his father Manuel the Fortunate sat upon the throne. To outward appearance the country exhibited every mark of prosperity, and its commerce and wealth were the wonder of Europe, but the zenith of its greatness was passed before the sixteenth century had run half its course. The king had many sons, but all died in childhood except the youngest, Dom João, who married the infanta Joana, daughter of the emperor Charles the fifth. He died in early manhood, on the 2nd of January 1554, eighteen days before his widow gave birth to a boy, who received the name Sebastião. On the 16th of June 1557 this child of little more than three years of age

became by his grandfather's death sovereign of Portugal, and as his mother had retired to Spain his grandmother, Dona Catharina, daughter of Philippe I of Castile and widow of the deceased monarch, became regent of the kingdom.

Corruption had by this time become so general among the Portuguese in India that even a virtuous viceroy such as Dom João de Castro was powerless to check it. They retained indeed the daring spirit of their fathers, so that military prowess was conspicuous still, but beyond that avarice had become their ruling passion. To collect wealth, whether honestly or dishonestly hardly mattered, had become the great object of their lives, and as power was theirs, under such circumstances good government was impossible. Even at this early period the rapacity of the officials was preparing Portuguese India for the fate that overtook it as soon as a rival European power dealt it a puny blow. Eastern Africa was included in India, and if a course of ravages was not practised here, the reason was that no weak peoples other than the Mohamedans existed sufficiently wealthy to tempt spoliation.

Before 1545 Mozambique was without other protection than the fort constructed when the island was first occupied. In that year Dom João de Castro put in there on his way to Goa to assume the government of India, and was struck with the weakness of a place of such importance. In his opinion the position of the so-called fort was not only bad in a military point of view, but was insanitary as well. He selected another site, gathered some materials, and during his short stay constructed a small outwork for temporary use. Upon his report of the condition of the island reaching Lisbon, the king gave orders for larger and better defensive works to be built, but the death of the eminent viceroy followed soon afterwards, and the matter was then allowed to fall out of sight.

The power that Portugal had to contend with now in the eastern seas was the Grand Turk, in the zenith of his pride, and aided always openly or secretly by one or other Mohamedan state. To put a fleet upon the waters of the Indian ocean, every part of the material, wood, iron, cordage, and canvas, had to be conveyed up the Nile to Cairo, and thence on the backs of camels to the shipyards of Suez, a seemingly impossible task. Yet that it could be done had been proved by the mameluke sultan of Egypt in 1508 and 1513, and again by the Turkish sultan Soleiman II in 1527, and still more conspicuously in 1538. On the 22nd of June of this year the faithless and ferocious pasha Soleiman, who had governed Egypt for the sultan at Constantinople, sailed from Suez with a great fleet built of materials so transported from European Turkey, having with him a powerful force of janizaries. His siege of the fort of Diu—4th September to 5th November 1538—and its heroic defence by Antonio da Silveira with only six hundred men, most of whom lost their lives before Soleiman withdrew discomfited to commit suicide rather than be put to death by his master for having failed in the enterprise, must be regarded as among the most memorable events in the history of India. This Antonio da Silveira who, with only forty men left capable of bearing arms, with his ammunition exhausted and his provisions consumed, saw from his battered and half destroyed fort the remnant of the Turkish fleet sail away, had been captain of Sofala and Mozambique from 1524 to 1527, but had there no opportunity of distinguishing himself in any way.

From the time of the pasha Soleiman's defeat onward Turkish subjects in smaller force were encountered, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, allied with Indian princes; and it was apprehended that an attempt to secure the eastern commerce might again be made by them with a very powerful armament. To be prepared for such an

occurrence, in 1558 among other measures the regent Dona Catharina resolved to construct a fortress of the first class at Mozambique, and to make the island the residence of the highest official in authority on the African coast. Previously there had been no permanent garrison, and the captain had resided during the greater part of the year at Sofala, which was regarded as the more important place of the two. Henceforth each was to have a captain, but the one at Sofala was to be subordinate to the one at Mozambique.

To plan the new fortress, an engineer architect was sent out who was a nephew of the archbishop of Braga, and had learned his profession in Flanders. He selected as the best site the eastern extremity of the island, off which ships passed to and from the anchorage, and there on the margin of the sea he laid the foundations of the massive walls that afterwards arose. The fortress was quadrilateral in form, with a bastion at each angle, and was so large that from eighty to a hundred guns could be mounted on its ramparts. The whole structure was termed Fort São Sebastião, but the outwork at each angle had its own name, the one first passed when coming in from sea being called Nossa Senhora, the one nearest the anchorage São João, the landward one on the inner side of the island São Gabriel, and the landward one on the outer side Santo Antonio. The walls were of great height, which subsequent experience proved to be disadvantageous. A work of such magnitude, though the heaviest labour was performed by slaves, required many skilled artisans, and could only be slowly carried on. The political condition of Portugal also retarded progress, so that the sixteenth century was nearly ended before the walls and the numerous buildings they enclosed were fully finished. The want of fresh water was at first regarded as its principal defect, but this was remedied in course of time by the construction of enormous cisterns, which contained an ample supply to last from one rainy season to another. From the mainland water was brought for the shipping.

After laying out the fortress at Mozambique and preparing plans for carrying on the work, the architect proceeded to Damán to perform a similar duty there. After that was done he returned to Europe and entered a religious order, when he was favoured by Philippe II of Spain, and from his designs parts of the Escorial were constructed. Thus in Fort São Sebastião there exists a specimen of the highest skill of the sixteenth century.

The conversion of the heathen to Christianity was from the very beginning of the Portuguese explorations and settlements in Africa and India kept constantly in view by the king and by the authorities of the Roman catholic church, but the far East offered the most promising field to the Franciscans, Dominicans, and other long established religious orders, and there were no men to spare for the enlightenment of the barbarous tribes between the Zambesi and the bay of Lourenço Marques. The whole territory east of the Cape of Good Hope to Japan had formed a single see since March 1539, when Dom João d'Albuquerque assumed duty at Goa as first bishop of India. But even the Portuguese themselves were neglected in Africa, for the garrison of Sofala was seldom provided with a chaplain, and Sena and Tete were left altogether without one.

On the 27th of September 1540, however, a bull was issued by Pope Paul III, approving of the order founded by Ignatius Loyola, and the Company of Jesus, the greatest and most zealous of all the missionary associations of the Roman catholic church, came into existence. Within seven months, on the 7th of April 1541, the celebrated Francisco Xavier sailed from Lisbon for India, and he was soon followed by others into various parts of the heathen world. The first college of the order was founded at Coimbra by João III of Portugal in 1542, and speedily attracted within its walls many of the most religious and most energetic of the youth of the kingdom. Into this college in 1543 a young man of noble parentage, named Gonçalo da Silveira, a native of Almeirim on the Tagus, sought

admission for the purpose of completing his education. Shortly afterwards he entered the order, and in 1556 was sent to Goa. There he became conspicuous for his zeal and general ability, and it was mainly owing to his exertions that the magnificent church of São Thomé was built in the capital of Portuguese India.

On one of the voyages of the little vessel that went occasionally from Mozambique to Inhambane to purchase ivory, a son of a chief of some importance was induced to return in her. It was the custom to treat such persons with much attention, in order to secure their friendship, and the young chief was greatly pleased with the favours that he received. In course of time he professed his belief in Christianity, and was baptized with all the pomp that was possible in the church of São Gabriel, the captain of Sofala and Mozambique being one of his godfathers. When the vessel made her next voyage he returned to Inhambane, and induced his father to send a request to the Portuguese captain that he might be supplied with missionaries. This request was forwarded to Goa, where it was referred to the provincial of the Jesuits, with the result that the fathers Gonçalo da Silveira and André Fernandes, with the lay brother André da Costa, were directed to proceed to South-Eastern Africa, and attempt to convert the Bantu there to Christianity. Dom Gonçalo was the head of the party, and was entrusted by the viceroy Dom Constantino de Bragança with friendly messages and presents for the chief who had made the application and for the paramount ruler of the Karanga tribe.

On the 2nd of January 1560 the missionaries sailed from Chaul, and after a pleasant passage reached Mozambique on the 4th of February, where they found a trading vessel nearly ready to sail for Inhambane. She was only a zambuco, with so little accommodation that, as one of them wrote, they could neither lie down comfortably, stand erect, or exercise their legs in her, but on the 12th of February they embarked, together with two Portuguese—one of whom

was to be their guide—and a black man who was well acquainted with the coast. The zambuco was to touch at Sofala on the way. At this place they arrived after a passage of twenty-seven days, and here they secured the service of a halfbreed born at the fort, named João Raposo, who spoke Portuguese and Tshikaranga with equal fluency, and who was a handy man in other respects, as he had travelled much in the country. After five days' stay at Sofala, the zambuco sailed again, and eight days later reached Inhambane, where five Portuguese were found trading for ivory.

Dom Gonçalo and the lay brother were suffering severely from fever, and landed in such a debilitated condition that for a time their lives were despaired of. Their countrymen, however, took such care of them that shortly they began to mend, and as soon as they were out of danger the father André Fernandes was sent in advance to the kraal of the chief who had applied for missionaries, to announce their arrival and to request that carriers might be provided to convey the others in hammocks. The distance of the kraal from Inhambane is stated to have been thirty leagues, but as the father André Fernandes and those with him traversed it on foot in three days and a half, it can hardly have been so far. The name of the place is given by the missionaries as Otongwe, and of the chief as Gamba. He was the head of a clan of Makaranga that had been driven from its own country in a war with its neighbours, and had taken refuge in territory occupied by the Batonga, where it had acquired a right of possession by force of arms. This condition of things at once accounts for its desire to secure the friendship of the Portuguese. Father André Fernandes and João Raposo, who was with him, were provided with a hut to live in, and carriers were despatched who brought up the others seventeen days later. Dom Gonçalo and André da Costa arrived so weak that they could hardly stand, but the father soon became stronger, and the lay brother was sent back to the coast for a time to recuperate.

Shortly after their arrival the mission party—the first in South Africa—witnessed a striking instance of the nature of the heathenism they had come to destroy. A son of the chief had just died, and the witchfinder had pointed out an individual as guilty of having caused his death by treading in his footprints, whereupon the man accused was tortured and killed. They found, too, people in the last stages of sickness abandoned by every one, even their nearest relatives, who feared that death—the invisible destroyer—might seize them as well as the decrepit, if they were close at hand when he came.

Having delivered the complimentary message of the viceroy and his present, the missionaries were very well treated. Huts were given to them to live in, and they were supplied with abundance of food. They commenced therefore without delay to exhort the people to become Christians. There is a custom of the Bantu, with which they were of course unacquainted, not to dispute with honoured guests, but to profess agreement with whatever is stated. This is regarded by those people as politeness, and it is carried to such an absurd extent that it is often difficult to obtain correct information from them. Thus if one asks a man, is it far to such a place? politeness requires him to reply it is far, though it may be close by. The questioner, by using the word far, is supposed to be under the impression that it is at a distance, and it would be rudeness to correct him. They express their thanks for whatever is told to them, whether the intelligence is pleasing or not, and whether they believe it or not. Then, too, no one of them ever denies the existence of a Supreme Being, but admits it without hesitation as soon as he is told of it, though he may not once have thought of the subject before.

The missionaries must have been deceived by these habits of the people, for they were convinced that their words had taken deep root, and within a very short time they baptized about four hundred individuals at the kraal, including the chief and his family. The chief received the name

Constantino, his principal wife Isabel, and his sons and counsellors the names of leading Portuguese nobles. It is not easy to analyse the thoughts of those uncultured barbarians, but certainly what they understood by this ceremony must have been something very different from what the missionaries understood by it.

After a sojourn of only seven weeks at Otongwe, Dom Gonçalo da Silveira returned to Inhambane, leaving behind him the other members of the mission and what he believed to be an infant Christian community. The little vessel had taken in the cargo obtained in barter, and the Portuguese traders, who were ready to go on board, were waiting for him. The missionary embarked with them, the sails were set, and he proceeded to Mozambique to prepare for a visit to the monomotapa.

Having made his arrangements with the assistance of the captain Pantaleão de Sá, on the 18th of September 1560 he left the island again with the Karanga country as his destination. He was accompanied by six Portuguese, one of whom, Antonio Dias by name, was a competent interpreter. The zambuco in which he was a passenger touched at the mouth of the Kilimane, and then proceeded to the Kuama, up which she made her way to Sena. From ten to fifteen Portuguese and a few Indian Christians were found at this place, living in the most dissolute manner. There was no resident clergyman, so during the two months that he remained here waiting for a reply to a message that he sent to the monomotapa, he pursued his calling and induced some of his countrymen to amend their habits, besides which he baptized about five hundred Bantu, mostly servants and slaves of the Europeans. At Sena he was joined by a Portuguese resident of Tete, named Gomes Coelho, who was living on terms of friendship with the paramount Karanga chief, and who was conversant with his language.

At length a reply was received from the monomotapa, who was not then residing at his great place close to

Mount Fura, but at another kraal on the Monsengense—now Mzingesi—river, much nearer the Zambesi, about two hundred and fifty-nine kilometres or one hundred and sixty English miles due west of Tete.* The chief sent an invitation to the missionary to visit him, so he and his attendants set out over land for Tete, sending their luggage and other goods up the river in boats. At Tete a stay was made only sufficiently long to engage more carriers, and the party then proceeded onward, forming quite a little caravan. Gomes Coelho remained at the river to attend to any forwarding business that was to be done, as he had ascertained that his presence with Dom Gonçalo would not be needed. The road was rough, and food became so scarce that they were glad to get any kind of edible wild plants, but on the 26th of December they reached their destination in safety.

At the kraal of the great chief there was living at this time a Portuguese adventurer named Antonio Caiado, one of a class of men met with then as now, who, while retaining affection for the country of their birth, can make themselves perfectly at home among barbarians. Caiado had ingratiated himself with the monomotapa, and was a counsellor of rank and principal military authority in the tribe. He was deputed by the chief to wait upon the strangers, to bid them welcome as messengers from the viceroy of India, and to offer their leader a present of gold dust, cattle, and female slaves, as a token of friendship. The missionary declined the present, but in such a way as not to give offence, and shortly after-

* The excellent *Gazetteer* in Mr. R. N. Hall's *Prehistoric Rhodesia* is a great assistance in fixing localities in the Karanga country. He has lived long and travelled much in the country on foot with only Bantu attendants and guides, has made himself perfectly familiar with all the place names mentioned by the Portuguese and found in the *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, and has spared neither time nor trouble in attempting to ascertain their exact positions and present designations.

wards the great chief admitted him to an interview. He was received with all possible honour as an ambassador from the viceroy, who, from accounts of previous Portuguese visitors to the great place, was believed to be a potentate of enormous wealth and power. The message of friendship and the present which he brought gave great satisfaction. Food and huts for himself and his retinue were offered and accepted with thanks, but the African chief was surprised when the missionary, so unlike all other white men he had met, courteously declined to accept the gold and female companions pressed upon him.

The same mistake was made here as at Gamba's kraal, the missionary addressed the chief and his assembled people through an interpreter, they professed to believe what he said, and allowed themselves to be baptized. This took place within a month from the date of his arrival. The monomotapa was a mere youth, and one of his half brothers, Tshepute by name, was in revolt against him. The insurgent had taken the title of Kiteve, and was in possession of a broad tract of territory along the coast from Sofala to the Tendankulu river, in which he was quite independent. Under these circumstances it was evidently the interest of the monomotapa and his adherents to do nothing to offend any one who offered him friendship, especially one who represented a powerful, though distant ruler. Looking at the matter in this light, there is nothing strange in what occurred. The monomotapa received at his baptism the name Sebastião, and his mother at hers Maria. Some three hundred of his counsellors, attendants, and followers were baptized with him.

The chief evidently thought his visitors would not make a long stay, and he was very willing to entertain them for a few weeks and please them to the best of his ability, but shortly after his baptism he began to get weary of their presence. He had no intention whatever of abandoning any of the customs of his race, and was irritated when the missionary urged him to do so.

Some Mohamedan refugees from Mozambique, who were staying with him, took advantage of his growing coldness to persuade him that Silveira was a mighty sorcerer. They reminded him of the loss of the presents which the officials of Sofala had made to his predecessors, and that Dom Gonçalo had been in Tshepute's country, from which they inferred that he had left people behind him there and had come in advance as a spy to ascertain the condition of the land and bewitch the people in it. In the end they so worked upon his credulity and his fear that he resolved if the missionary would not leave to put him to death, with which resolution Dom Gonçalo was made acquainted. He, however, declined to remove, and took no other precautions than to give some articles that he regarded as sacred to Caiado, with an injunction to preserve them from injury. In the belief that he was making converts he was willing to face death, and presently he baptized fifty individuals who expressed a desire to become Christians, probably for the sake of the beads and pieces of calico that he distributed among them, for it cannot be supposed that in less than three months they had acquired sufficient knowledge of the tenets of a religion so different from that of their own people as to become real converts. This was regarded by the monomotapa as a defiance of his authority, and in his wrath he issued orders to a party of men to put the missionary to death. They strangled him during the night of the 16th of March 1561, and cast his dead body into the river Mzingesi, which ran past the kraal. The newly baptized narrowly escaped the same fate.

A drought of some duration occurred not long afterwards, and was followed by a great plague of locusts. Caiado and other Portuguese now persuaded the chief that these evils were consequences of the murder of Silveira, so he caused the principal Mohamedans who had poisoned his mind towards the missionary to be put to death.

Father André Fernandes and the lay brother André da Costa had been left by Dom Gonçalo at Gamba's kraal Otongwe. Whether the lay brother died or left the country is unknown: in numerous letters written by Father Fernandes at a little later date neither he nor João Raposo is mentioned, and the father refers to himself as being quite alone. It was truly a wretched condition for a European to be in, especially as it soon became evident that the supposed converts were altogether indisposed to lay aside their old customs or to submit to ecclesiastical discipline. They would not abandon polygamy, or the belief in charms, or the practice of divination, or punishment of persons charged with dealing in witchcraft, and were greatly offended with the preaching of the missionary against their habits. They had a custom also—which still exists—that when a man died his brothers should take his widows and raise up a family for him, and this the missionary denounced to their great annoyance. At length matters reached a climax. There was a drought in the country, and the chief Gamba, who was also the rainmaker of his clan, went through the ordinary ceremonies to obtain a downpour. For doing this Father Fernandes openly and fearlessly rebuked him before his people, with the result that whatever influence he had before was now at an end. He had nothing left to buy food with, and at times was nearly starved. Neglected, often fever-stricken, regarded as a wizard to be avoided, after a residence of over two years at Otongwe he received instructions from his provincial to return to Goa, and so he left a country in which under the circumstances then existing he must have perished had he remained longer, without a chance of doing any good. Making his way as best he could to Inhambane, he proceeded to Mozambique in the trading vessel, and there embarked in a ship which conveyed him in an extremely debilitated condition to the convent of his order in Goa.

CHAPTER XII.

DISASTROUS EXPEDITIONS UNDER BARRETO AND HOMEM.

DONA CATHARINA acted as regent of Portugal until 1562, when she retired and the cardinal Dom Henrique, younger brother of King João III, took her place. While he was head of the government nothing worthy of mention occurred in South-Eastern Africa. It was his intention to station at Mozambique an ecclesiastical administrator, with authority almost equal to that of a bishop, and a bull was obtained from the pope for the purpose. The archbishop of Goa gave his consent to the separation from his diocese of the territory from the Cape of Good Hope to Melinde. The licentiate Manuel Coutinho, one of the royal chaplains, received the appointment, with a salary of about £80 a year from the 1st of April 1563. But something occurred to prevent the plan being carried into execution, and it was not revived until half a century later.

In 1568 Dom Sebastião, though only in his fifteenth year, was declared to be of age, and was crowned king of Portugal, then an absolute monarchy. His was a strange character: gloomy, but adventurous to the last degree, deeply religious according to the standard of his time, but wilful and vain, brave as any warrior who ever held lance in hand, but rash as the most imprudent of those crusaders whom in many respects he greatly resembled. He had hardly assumed the reins of government when he resolved to create a vast dominion in Africa south of the Zambesi, a dominion which in wealth and importance would rival that of Castile in the countries subjected to that crown by the daring of Cortes and Pizarro.

Ever since the establishment of the trading station at Sofala a quantity of gold had been obtained yearly in commerce, but that quantity was so small as to be disappointing. Compared with the wealth which flowed into Spain from Mexico and Peru it was almost as nothing. Yet the belief was general in Portugal that the mines of South Africa were as rich as those of America, and that if possession of them was taken, boundless wealth would be obtained.

Were not these the mines from which the queen of Sheba got the gold which she presented to King Solomon? said the Portuguese enthusiasts. Was not Masapa the ancient Ophir? Why even then Karanga Kaffirs called the mountain close to the residence of their great chief Fura, and the Arabs called it Aufur, what was that but a corruption of Ophir? There, at Abasia, close to Masapa and to the mountain Fura, was a mine so rich that there were seldom years in which nuggets worth four thousand cruzados (£1904 13s. 4d.)* were not taken from it. Then there were the mines of Manika and far distant Butua, worked only by Bantu, who neither knew how to dig nor had the necessary tools. Only by washing river sand and soil in pools after heavy rains, these barbarians obtained all the gold that was purchased at Sofala and the smaller stations: what would not be got if civilised Europeans owned the territory? For it was to be borne in mind that the Bantu were extremely indolent, that when any one of them obtained sufficient gold to supply his immediate wants, he troubled himself about washing the soil no longer.

All this and more of the same nature was exciting the minds of the people of Portugal, and was reflected in the glowing pages of their writers. It was therefore a highly popular enterprise that the boy king was about to embark

* The weight of the cruzado of King Sebastião is given to me by the curator of the coin department of the British Museum as 58·7 grains Troy, and its purity as practically the same as that of English gold. I have therefore estimated it at 114·28d.

upon, one in which he could employ the best men and much of the wealth of the country without a murmur from any one. Before the necessary preparations were made, however, the pious sovereign submitted to a board termed the table of conscience the question whether aggressive warfare against the ruler of the coveted territory would be lawful and just. The reply must have been foreseen, but it would relieve the monarch of personal moral responsibility in the eyes of Christendom, probably even in his own, if his learned advisers favoured his views.

The board of conscience consisted of seven individuals, who took the circumstances of the case into consideration, and on the 23rd of January 1569 pronounced their opinion. They declared that as the monomotapa and his predecessors had been guilty of killing and robbing their own innocent subjects as well as several Portuguese traders, that one of them had ordered the father Dom Gonçalo da Silveira, a peaceful missionary, to be murdered, that by them two Portuguese ambassadors from the captain of Sofala had been robbed and detained as prisoners, that they sheltered in their dominions many Moors, the enemies of the Christian faith and instigators of evil, and that apostolic bulls were in existence conceding to the king all the commerce of the country from Cape Nun to India upon condition of his causing the gospel to be preached there, it would be right and proper to demand in moderate terms that the African ruler should receive and protect Christian missionaries, expel the Moors, cease tyrannical conduct towards his subjects, carry on commerce in a friendly manner, and make sufficient compensation for all damage done and expenses incurred; and upon his failing to do so war might justly be made upon him. It would certainly be difficult to find better reasons for hostilities than those here given, if the true object had not been something very different.

The next step was the division of India into three governments. Complaints were unceasing that in places distant from Goa it was almost impossible to carry on business

properly, owing to the length of time required to obtain orders and instructions, and it was evident that war on an extensive scale could not be conducted successfully in Eastern Africa if the general in command should be in any way hampered. The whole sphere of Portuguese influence in the East was therefore separated into three sections: the first extending from Cape Correntes to Cape Guardafui, the second from Cape Guardafui to Pegu, and the third from Pegu to China. As head of the first and commander in chief of the expedition about to be sent out the king's choice fell upon Francisco Barreto, an officer of experience in war, who had been governor-general of India from 1555 to 1558, and who was then in chief command of the royal galleys. The appointment was a popular one, for Barreto had the reputation of being not only brave and skilful, but the most generous cavalier of his day. He was instructed to enrol a thousand soldiers, and was supplied with a hundred thousand cruzados (£47,616 13s. 4d.) in ready money, with a promise of an equal sum in gold and a reinforcement of five hundred men every year until the conquest should be completed. All Lisbon was in a state of excitement when this became known, and so great was the enthusiasm with which the project was regarded that from every side cadets of the best families pressed forward and offered their services. The recruiting offices were so crowded that only the very best men were selected, and those who were rejected would have sufficed for another expedition.

Three ships were engaged to take the troops to Mozambique. One of these—the *Rainha*—was a famous Indiaman, and the largest in the king's service. In addition to the crew, six hundred soldiers, of whom more than half were of gentle blood and two hundred were court attendants, embarked with Barreto in this ship. In each of the others two hundred soldiers embarked. One was commanded by Vasco Fernandes Homem, the other by Lourenço Carvalho. The viceroy at Goa was instructed to forward supplies of provisions and military stores to Mozambique, and to procure horses, asses,

and camels at Ormuz for the use of the expedition. A hundred negroes were sent out to take care of the animals when they arrived. As chaplains of the expedition four fathers of the Company of Jesus were selected, one of whom—Francisco Monclaros by name—wrote an account of it which is still in existence.

On the 16th of April 1569 the expedition, that was supposed to have a brilliant career before it, sailed from Belem amidst the roar of artillery and a great sound of trumpets. Almost immediately the first trouble was encountered, in the form of a gale which caused so much damage to the ship commanded by Lourenço Carvalho that she was obliged to return to Lisbon, where she was condemned. The other two took seventy-seven days to reach the equator, and then separated, Vasco Fernandes Homem proceeding to Mozambique, where he arrived in August, and the captain general steering for the bay of All Saints on the coast of Brazil to procure water and refreshments. The *Rainha* dropped anchor in this bay on the 4th of August, and remained until the end of January 1570, waiting for the favourable monsoon. During this time sixty of the soldiers died, but as many others were obtained in their stead.

At the bay of All Saints Francisco Barreto received information of a destructive plague that had broken out in Lisbon, and that his wife, Dona Beatriz d'Ataide, had died of it only two days after his departure. Having sailed again, the Cape of Good Hope was passed in safety, but on the banks of Agulhas a storm was encountered which drove the ship so far back that she was thirty-six days in recovering her position. In consequence of this, Mozambique was not reached until the 16th of May 1570, where Vasco Fernandes Homem was found with his men all ill and having lost many by death, among them his own son Antonio Mascarenhas. None of the requisite supplies or animals had yet arrived from India. Pedro Barreto, a nephew of the commander

in chief, had been captain of Sofala and Mozambique, but upon hearing of the new arrangement in a fit of jealousy had thrown up his appointment and embarked in a ship returning to Europe. This is the man whose shabby treatment of Luis de Camões has blackened his name for ever in Portuguese history. He died on the passage to Lisbon. His affairs in Africa were wound up by his agent, from whom Vasco Fernandes Homem, who assumed the government, demanded the proceeds of his property, amounting to about thirty-three thousand pounds sterling. This money was transferred to Francisco Barreto upon his arrival, who made use of it in defraying some of the expenses of the expedition.

The town of Mozambique at this time contained about a hundred Portuguese residents and two hundred Indians and Kaffirs. The Mohamedan village on the island was in a ruinous condition. The construction of Fort São Sebastião was progressing, and some heavy artillery brought out in the *Rainha* was landed to be mounted on its walls.

Francisco Barreto appointed Lourenço Godinho captain of Mozambique provisionally, and in October sent Vasco Fernandes Homem with three hundred soldiers to the ports along the coast to the northward to obtain provisions and then take possession of the Comoro islands. A few weeks later he followed himself in pangayos with the remainder of his force who were in health, and overtook Homem at Kilwa, which was then a place of very little importance. From Kilwa he proceeded to Mafia, and after a stay there of two or three days, to Zanzibar. At this island some Kaffirs who were in insurrection were reduced to order. After this Barreto visited Mombasa, Melinde, Cambo, and Pate. At the place last named the inhabitants were more hostile to the Portuguese than at any other settlement on the coast, and on that account it was intended to destroy the town; but it was found almost deserted, and the few people left in it begged for mercy and were spared on paying five thousand seven hundred

and fourteen pounds sterling, partly in gold and partly in cloth and provisions. They avenged themselves after the expedition sailed, however, by robbing and murdering several Portuguese traders. As many of the soldiers had died along the coast and others were very ill, Barreto here abandoned his design against the Comoro islands, and from Pate returned to Mozambique with the tribute money and provisions he had obtained.

Upon his arrival at the island he found a small vessel under command of Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, that had been sent from Portugal to his assistance. The *Rainha* was lying a wreck on the coast of the mainland, having been driven from her anchors in a hurricane, but her cargo had previously been taken on shore. Two ships which the viceroy Dom Luis d'Ataide had sent from India with munitions of war, stores of different kinds, horses, and other animals for the use of the expedition, had just made their appearance. With these, however, Barreto received information that a powerful hostile force was besieging Chaul, so he called a council of his officers and put the question to them whether it would not be more advantageous to the king's service to defer the African conquest for a time, and proceed to the relief of that place. The council was of opinion that they should first force the enemy to raise the siege of Chaul, and then return and take possession of the gold mines, so preparations for that purpose were at once commenced.

Before Barreto could sail for Chaul, Dom Antonio de Noronha, the newly appointed viceroy of India from Cape Guardafui to Pegu, arrived at Mozambique with a fleet of five ships having on board two hundred soldiers to reinforce the African expedition. His appearance put a different aspect upon affairs. He was very ill when he reached the island, but after a few days he recovered sufficiently to be present at a general council, which was attended by a large number of officers of high rank and more than twenty fathers of the Company of Jesus and the order of Saint Dominic, when it

was unanimously resolved that the African expedition should at once be proceeded with. With one exception, the members of the council were of opinion that Sofala should be made the base of operations, the father Francisco Monclaros alone holding that the route should be up the Zambesi to a certain point, and then straight to the mountain where the paramount chief of the Karanga tribe resided, in order to punish that despot for the murder of the missionary Dom Gonçalo da Silveira.

Barreto accepted the decision of the majority of the council, and commenced to send his stores to Sofala in small vessels, but after a time his mind misgave him. He had been specially commanded by the king on all occasions of importance to follow the advice of Father Monclaros, who was in high favour at court. After another consultation with him, the captain general suddenly recalled the pangayos from Sofala, and in November 1571 left Mozambique for Sena with twenty-two vessels of different sizes conveying his army and stores. Two years and seven months had passed away since he sailed from Lisbon, many of the men who had embarked there in high hope of glory and wealth were no more, and most of those who remained alive were enfeebled by the long sojourn on that unhealthy coast. It is creditable to them that at last, when the time of action appeared to have arrived, they were still found eager to press forward.

On the way down the coast the flotilla put into several ports before reaching the Kilimane, where Barreto procured a number of luzios or large boats; but finding that mouth of the Zambesi not then navigable into the main stream, he proceeded to the Luabo. At Kilimane only two or three Portuguese were residing. The Bantu chief, whose name was Mongalo, had a distinct remembrance of Vasco da Gama's visit seventy-five years before.

Sixteen days were required to ascend the river from the bar of the Luabo to Sena. Sometimes the sails were set, at other times the vessels were towed by boats, and where the current was very strong warping was resorted to. Barreto

resolved to make Sena his base of proceedings. Ten Portuguese traders were living there in wattled huts, but there was no fort or substantial building of any kind. The troops were landed, and were found to number over seven hundred arquebusiers, exclusive of officers, slaves, and camp attendants of every description. Their supply of provisions was ample. They had horses to draw the artillery and mount a respectable company, a number of asses to carry skin water-bags, and some camels for heavy transport. As far as war material was concerned, the expedition was as well equipped as it could be. But this first campaign of Europeans against Bantu in Southern Africa was opened under exceptional difficulties, for the locality was the sickly Zambesi valley, and the time was the hottest of the year.

Agents were at once sent out to purchase oxen, and the work of building a fort was commenced without delay. Stone for the purpose was drawn to the site selected by cattle trained to the yoke, the first ever so employed in South Africa, which caused great astonishment to the Bantu spectators. The beginning of trouble was occasioned by thirst. The river, owing to heavy falls of rain along its upper course, was so muddy and dirty that its water could not be used without letting it settle, and the only vessels available for this purpose were a few calabashes. Then sickness broke out, and men, horses, and oxen began to die, owing, as the captain general supposed, to the impurities which they drank. Father Monclaros, however, was of a different opinion. He believed that the Mohamedans who resided at Sena were poisoning the grass to cause the animals to perish, and were even practising the same malevolence towards the men, when opportunities occurred, by putting some deadly substance secretly in the food. He urged Barreto to expel them, who declined to do so, and to ascertain whether purer water could not be obtained, caused a well to be dug. The excavation was made, and stone was being brought to build a wall round it, when one Manhoesa, a man of mixed Arab and Bantu blood, went to

Barreto privately and told him that there was a plot to put poison in it.

The Mohamedan residents of the place were traders who purchased goods from Portuguese and paid for them in gold and ivory. Some of them owned many slaves, whom they employed as carriers in their bartering expeditions and agents in pushing their traffic far into the interior. They were governed by their own sheik, and were quite independent of other control. Most of them could speak the Portuguese language sufficiently well to be understood, and after the expedition arrived professed to entertain friendship for the members of it, though at heart it was impossible for the two races at that time to be really well disposed towards each other. Apart from the wide gulf which religion caused, the Christians had come to destroy the commerce with the Bantu by which these mongrel Arabs lived, how could there then be friendship between them?

Barreto believed Manhoesa's statement, and caused the well to be filled up. The horses were now dying off at an alarming rate,—just as would happen to-day, for in that locality they cannot long exist,—and upon the bodies being opened, the appearance of the lungs convinced the Portuguese that they had been poisoned. The grooms were arrested, and as they protested that they were innocent, the captain general commanded them to be put to the torture. Under this ordeal some of them declared that they had been bribed by a Moorish priest to kill the horses, and that he had supplied them with poison for the purpose.

Upon this evidence Barreto ordered his soldiers to attack the Mohamedans suddenly and put them to the sword. The country around was thereupon scoured to a considerable distance, and all the adult males were killed except seventeen, who were brought to the camp as prisoners. Their property of every kind was seized, most of which was divided among the soldiers as booty, though gold to the value of over £6700 was reserved for the service of the

king. The prisoners were tried, and were sentenced to death. They were exhorted to embrace Christianity, in order to save their souls, but all rejected the proposal except one, who was baptized with the name Lourenço, and was accompanied to the scaffold by a priest carrying a crucifix. This one was hanged, some were impaled, some were blown from the mouths of mortars, and the others were put to death in various ways with exquisite torture. Of the whole adult male Mohamedan population of Sena and its neighbourhood only Manhoesa was left alive. Such dreadful barbarity inflicted upon people innocent of the crime with which they were charged was regarded by Father Monclaros as a simple act of justice, and he recorded the horrible event without the slightest recognition of the infamy attached to it.

Shortly after he reached Sena Barreto sent Miguel Bernardes, an old resident in the country, to the monomotapa; but he was drowned on the way by the overturning of his canoe in the river. Another was then despatched on the same errand. A messenger went in advance to ascertain whether he would be received in a manner becoming the representative of the king of Portugal, because in that capacity he would not be at liberty to lay aside his arms, to prostrate himself upon the ground, and to kneel when addressing the chief, as was the ordinary custom when blacks or strangers presented themselves. Some Mohamedans were at the great place when the messenger arrived, and they tried to induce the monomotapa not to see the envoy except in the usual manner. They informed him that the Portuguese were powerful sorcerers, who, if permitted to have their own way, might bewitch and even kill him by their glances and their words. The chief was alarmed by their statements and therefore hesitated for some days, but in the end he promised that the envoy on his arrival might present himself in the Portuguese manner, and would be received with friendship.

Barreto's agent then proceeded to the monomotapa's kraal. He had several attendants with him, and before him went servants carrying a chair and a carpet. The carpet was spread on the ground in front of the place where the monomotapa was reclining with his counsellors and great men half surrounding him, the chair was placed upon it, and the Portuguese official, richly dressed and armed, took his seat on it, his attendants, also armed, standing on each side and at his back. The European subordinate and the greatest of all the South African chiefs were there in conference, and the European, by virtue of his blood, assumed and was conceded the higher position of the two.

After some complimentary remarks from each, the envoy, through his interpreter, introduced the subject of his mission, which he said was to obtain the grant of a right of way to the gold mines of Manika and Butua, and to form an alliance against the chief Mongasi—(variously written by the Portuguese Omigos, Mongas, and Monge),—the hereditary enemy of the Makaranga. The real object of Barreto's expedition, the seizure of the gold mines in the Karanga country itself, was kept concealed. The monomotapa, as a matter of course, was charmed with the proposal of assistance against his enemy. The tribe of which Mongasi was the head occupied the right bank of the Zambesi at and above the Lupata gorge, and during several preceding years had committed great ravages upon its neighbours. Its territory was small compared with that over which the Karanga clans were spread, but its men were brave and fond of war, and to the Portuguese it was not certain which of the two was really the more powerful, Mongasi or the monomotapa himself. The condition of things indeed was somewhat similar to that in the same country three centuries later, except that Mongasi and his fighting men were in power far below Lobengula and the Matabele bands. The chief had given the Portuguese cause for enmity by robbing and killing several traders, and on one occasion sending a party to Tete who,

finding no white men there at the time, murdered about seventy of their female slaves and children.

The monomotapa was so pleased that he readily agreed to everything that the envoy proposed. He offered to send a great army to assist against Mongasi, and he said that a way through his territory to the mines beyond would be open to the Portuguese at all times. This was very satisfactory from Barreto's point of view, though he did not avail himself of the offer of assistance, as he wished to avoid any complications that might arise from it.

After a detention of seven months at Sena, the return of the envoy enabled the captain general to proceed towards his destination. The fort which he had nearly completed, named São Marçal, gave the Portuguese at least one strong position on the great river, though the country about it was not subdued, and the Bantu were left in absolute independence there. He had lost by fever at that unhealthy place a great many of those who had accompanied him from Portugal with such high hope, among them his own son Ruy Nunes Barreto, and of the men who were left some were barely able to walk. At the end of July 1572 he set out. A flotilla of boats containing provisions and stores of all kinds ascended the river, and along the bank marched the army accompanied by twenty-five waggons drawn by oxen, and the camels, asses, and a few horses that had recently arrived from India. The troops, about six hundred and fifty in number, including eighty Indians and mixed breeds, were divided into five companies, commanded respectively by Barreto himself, Antonio de Mello, Thomé de Sousa, Jeronymo d'Aguiar, and Jeronymo d'Andrada. Vasco Fernandes Homem, who had the rank of colonel, filled an office corresponding to that of quarter master general. Over two thousand slaves and camp attendants were with the army.

A whole month was occupied in marching from Sena to the confluence of the Mazoe and the Zambesi above the Lupata gorge. Frequently a soldier became too ill to walk, and he was then placed on a waggon until nightfall, when the

camp was pitched on the margin of the river and he was transferred to one of the boats. The expedition was now to ascend the Mazoe to Mongasi's great place, so near its mouth Barreto formed a camp on a small island, and left there his sick with the boats and all the superfluous baggage and stores, for there was no possibility of proceeding with a heavily encumbered column. An officer named Ruy de Mello, who had been wounded by a buffalo, was placed in charge of this camp. On the northern, or Bororo side of the Zambesi, there was a tribe of considerable strength living under a chief named Tshombe, who was an enemy of Mongasi and therefore as soon as he ascertained the object of the expedition professed to be a friend of the Portuguese. He supplied two hundred men to assist in carrying the baggage and to act as guides.

With his force now reduced to five hundred and sixty arquebusiers, twenty-three horsemen, and a few gunners with five or six pieces of artillery, Barreto turned away almost due south from the Zambesi. In this direction the column marched ten days, the men and animals suffering greatly at times from want of water. How the slaves and camp attendants fared is not mentioned by either De Couto or Father Monclaros, but the soldiers lived chiefly on scanty rations of beef, which they grilled on embers or by holding it on rods before a fire, though often they were so exhausted with the heat and fatigue that they were unable to eat anything at all. Their spirits revived, however, when on the eleventh day they came in sight of Mongasi's army, which was so large that the hillsides and valleys looked black with men.

Barreto immediately arranged his soldiers in a strong position resting on a hill, and awaited an attack, but none was made that day. All night the troops were under arms, getting what sleep they could without moving from their places, but that was little, for the blacks at no great distance were shouting continuously and making a great noise with their war-drums. At dawn the sergeant-major, Pedro de

Castro, was sent out with eighty picked men to try and draw the enemy on. This manœuvre succeeded. The whole host rushed forward in a dense mass, led by an old female witch-finder with a calabash full of charms, which she threw into the air in the belief that they would cause the Portuguese to become blind and palsied. So implicitly did the warriors of Mongasi rely upon these charms, that they carried riems to bind the Europeans who should not be killed. Barreto ordered one of his best shots to try to pick the old sorceress off, and she fell dead under his fire. The warriors, who believed that she was immortal, were checked for an instant, but presently brandishing their weapons with great shouts, they came charging on.

Then, with a cry of *São Thiago* from the Portuguese, a storm of balls from cannons and arquebuses and unwieldy firelocks was poured into the dense mass, which was shattered and broken. Barreto now in his turn charged, when the enemy took to flight, but in the pursuit several Portuguese were wounded with arrows. Fearing that his men might get scattered, the general caused the recall to be sounded almost at once, so that within a few minutes from its commencement the action was over.

The horsemen were then sent out to inspect the country in front. They returned presently with intelligence that there was a large kraal close by, belonging to Kapote, one of Mongasi's sub-chiefs, so the general resolved to set it on fire as soon as the men were a little rested and had broken their fast. About ten o'clock the expedition reached the kraal, which was nearly surrounded by patches of forest, and it was burned, but immediately afterwards the warriors were seen approaching. There was just time to form a kind of breastwork at the sides of the field guns with stakes and bushes when Mongasi's army, arranged in the form of a crescent with its horns extended to surround the position, was upon the invading band. It was received as before with a heavy fire, which was kept back until the leading rank was within a few paces, and which struck down the

files far towards the rear. The smoke which rolled over the Europeans and hid them from sight was regarded by the Bantu with superstitious fear, it seemed to them as if their opponents were under supernatural protection, and so they fled once more. They were followed some distance, and a great many were killed, among whom was the chief Kapote, but the Portuguese also suffered severely in the pursuit, for when Barreto's force came together again it was found that more than sixty men were wounded, some indeed only slightly but not a few mortally, and two were dead. Of the enemy it was believed that over six thousand had perished since dawn that morning, though very probably this estimate was much in excess of the actual number.

The progress of the expedition was now delayed by the necessity of establishing a hospital. Fortunately the site of the captured kraal was a good one, and water was plentiful close by. But at daylight on the sixth day after their arrival Mongasi's bands attacked them again. On this occasion the Europeans were protected with palisades, which the Bantu were unable to pass, though they continued their efforts to force an entrance until an hour after noon. Their losses under these circumstances must have been very heavy, and they were so disheartened that they accepted their defeat as decisive and sent a messenger to beg for peace.

Barreto's position at this time was one of great difficulty. He was encumbered with sick and wounded men, the objective point of his expedition was far away, his supply of ammunition was small, and his slaughter cattle were reduced to a very limited number. Yet he spoke to Mongasi's messenger in a haughty tone, and replied that he would think over the matter: the chief might send again after a couple of days, and he would then decide. A present of fifty head of cattle and as many sheep, a little gold, and a couple of tusks of ivory, was sent to him, and he gave in return some iron hoes, but no terms of peace were arranged. The animals were of the greatest service, so small was his stock of food.

In less than a week from this time a council of war was held, when there was but one opinion, that the only hope of safety was in retreating without delay. The expedition therefore turned back towards the Zambesi, and so great were the sufferings of the men for want of food on the way that they searched for roots and wild plants to keep them alive. At length, at the end of September, the bank of the river was reached, and a canoe was obtained, with which a letter was sent to Ruy de Mello, who was in command of the camp on the island. That officer immediately despatched six boat loads of millet and other provisions, and thus the exhausted soldiers and camp attendants were saved. They had not penetrated the country farther than seventy-two kilometres in a straight line from the river.

There were more than two hundred men either wounded or too ill to be of any service, and the losses by death had been large, so Barreto resolved to return to Sena, where a reinforcement of eighty soldiers who had recently arrived was awaiting him. The sick were sent down the river in boats after the remainder of the expedition had crossed to the Bororo side with the animals and baggage, and the waggons, now useless, had been burned. On the march provisions were obtained from the subjects of Tshombe, and two kraals hostile to that chief were destroyed.

A few days after crossing the river Barreto received information that his presence was urgently needed at Mozambique. When he sailed from that island he left there as captain a man eighty years of age, named Antonio Pereira Brandão, and assigned to Lourenço Godinho the office of factor. Brandão was under the deepest obligation to him. In the Moluccas he had committed crimes for which he was tried and condemned to confiscation of all his property and banishment to Africa for life. He threw himself upon the compassion of Barreto, who obtained permission from the king to take him with the expedition,

and made him captain of Mozambique purposely that he might acquire some property to bestow upon his daughter. In return he acted with such treachery towards his benefactor that he planned the detention of supplies forwarded from Goa, in order to ruin him.

Upon learning this Barreto left Vasco Fernandes Homem in command of the retreating force, and proceeded down the river in a *luzio*. At Sena he found an embassy from the monomotapa, who brought a message expressing good will and desiring friendship with the king of Portugal and commerce with the white people. The captain general mentioned three conditions as requisite to a compact between them: first that the Mohamedans should be expelled from the country, secondly that Christian missionaries should be received, and thirdly that a number of gold mines should be ceded. He added that if these conditions were agreed to, upon his return from Mozambique he would deal with other obstacles in the way of friendly commerce as he had dealt with Mongasi. The principal man in the embassy replied that the conditions were acceptable, and it was then arranged that some Portuguese should return with the party to learn from the monomotapa himself whether he would agree to them.

For this purpose Barreto appointed three gentlemen named Francisco de Magalhães, Francisco Rafaxo, and Gaspar Borges, whom he sent in company with the Karanga embassy on its return home with a valuable present of cloth and other articles to the monomotapa. It was afterwards learned that Francisco de Magalhães died on the journey, and that the two others were very well received. The monomotapa, as was natural under the circumstances, was profuse in friendly sentiments. He promised to expel the Mohamedans from his country, to receive Christian missionaries with friendship, and to give some gold mines to the Portuguese to work; but probably he had no intention of literally carrying out the first and the last of these concessions. He sent back

a present of gold, though it was of trifling value compared with what he had received.

As soon as the remnant of the army reached Sena the captain general instructed Vasco Fernandes Homem to complete the construction of Fort São Marçal and the necessary buildings connected with it, and then with Father Monclaros and a few attendants he proceeded to the mouth of the Luabo and embarked in a pangayo for Mozambique. Shortly after his arrival at that island a ship arrived from India with stores for the expedition, and in her came João da Silva, a natural son of Barreto, who delivered to his father a number of defamatory letters which Antonio Pereira Brandão had written concerning him to the king, and which Dom Jorge de Menezes, his relative by marriage, had intercepted. With this new proof of Brandão's treachery in his possession the captain general dismissed him from office, but was too generous to punish him further. Lourenço Godinho was appointed captain of Mozambique in his stead.

With his son, all the recruits he could obtain, a good supply of ammunition and other material of war, and a large quantity of calico with which to purchase provisions and meet other expenses, on the 3rd of March 1573 Francisco Barreto sailed again from Mozambique with a fleet of pangayos, intending to invade Manika from Sena. But misfortune still pursued him. Contrary winds were encountered, which compelled him to put into several ports, and two of the pangayos, laden with ammunition and provisions, were lost. At Kilimane intelligence was received of fearful mortality among the troops at Sena. The captains Jeronymo d'Aguiar and Antonio de Mello with all the inferior officers of the several companies and most of the soldiers had died, and Vasco Fernandes Homem and the Jesuit fathers were very ill. All hope of being able to invade Manika was thus lost, but Barreto felt that it would be disgraceful to abandon his people in such a time of distress, and so he pressed forward. On the 1st of May

he left the mouth of the river, and on the 15th arrived at Sena.

At the landing place about fifty soldiers, all that were able to stand, were waiting to receive him with banners displayed, but there was not an officer with them until Vasco Fernandes Homem was brought down in a state of great debility. The captain general and the priest passed on to the hospital, where the sick tried to welcome them, but only one man was able to discharge an arquebus. The sole remaining physician was dying. It was a pitiful sight, this terrible end of an expedition entered upon with such enthusiasm and such unbounded hope of success.

Some of the sick improved in health owing to the medical comforts Barreto had brought with him, but the whole of the recruits just arrived were struck down almost at once. The captain general, eight days after he reached Sena, had an angry altercation with Father Monclaros, in which the priest reproached him for not having abandoned the enterprise long before and told him that God would bring him to account for all the lives lost. Immediately after this the unfortunate commander took to his bed, and after a brief period of exhaustion died in great distress of mind, though apparently free of fever. In India and in his native country he had been regarded as a man of high ability, but South Africa destroyed his reputation, like that of many others since. He was buried in the newly erected church within the fort São Marçal, but his remains and those of his son Ruy Nunes Barreto were subsequently removed to Portugal, where by order of the king a pompous state funeral was accorded to them. His natural son, João da Silva, was taken by his servants from Sena to Mozambique, prostrate with illness, and died there. He had been wealthy, but his father had borrowed all he possessed to pay the soldiers and defray the other expenses of the army, as he had done from many others, so that Francisco Barreto's executors found that he not only left no property, but that he was responsible for

a hundred and twenty thousand cruzados (£57,140) thus raised.

Upon opening the first of the sealed orders of succession which had been given by the king to the late captain general, the name of Pedro Barreto was found; but he had long been dead. The second order of succession was then opened, which contained the name of Vasco Fernandes Homem, who thereupon assumed the title of governor and captain general of the African coast from Cape Guardafui to Cape Correntes. Acting upon the advice of Father Monclaros, the new governor retired to Mozambique as speedily as possible, taking with him all the material of war and men except sufficient for a small garrison that he left in Fort São Marçal at Sena.

Shortly after he reached the island, an officer named Francisco Pinto Pimentel, who was his cousin, arrived there from India on his way home. This officer expressed the utmost astonishment at his having abandoned an enterprise which the king had resolved should be carried out, and for which reinforcements were even then being sent from Portugal. In his opinion it was gross dereliction of duty, and he reminded his relative that a high official had not long before lost his head for an act which might be regarded as similar. The advice of Father Monclaros, he said, would not serve as an excuse, because a priest could not be supposed to be a guide in military matters. The father had already embarked in a ship returning to Lisbon, so Pimentel's reasoning was not counteracted by his influence.

The captain general therefore resolved to resume the effort to get possession of the gold mines, and to make his base of operations the port that had been recommended by the council of officers and clergy in 1571. As many recruits as could be obtained from ships that called were added to the remnant of Barreto's force and the fresh soldiers just arrived from Europe, a flotilla of coasting vessels was collected, provisions were procured, and an army of some strength, well

provided with munitions of war, was conveyed to Sofala. The date of its arrival cannot be given, as no Portuguese chronicler or historian mentions it, and the original manuscript of Father Monclaros terminates with the death of Francisco Barreto. The Kiteve and Tshikanga tribes were found to be at variance with each other, a circumstance that was favourable to the captain general's views. As soon as his soldiers were on shore, who mustered five hundred in number, exclusive of attendants and camp followers, he sent presents to the Kiteve chief, and requested a free passage to the Tshikanga territory, but met with a refusal. The Bantu rulers always objected to intercourse between white people and the tribes beyond their own, because they feared to lose their toll on the commerce which passed through their territories, and they were also apprehensive of strangers forming an alliance with their enemies.

Homem made no scruple in marching forward without the chief's permission, and when the Kiteves attempted to oppose him with arms, a discharge of his artillery and arquebuses immediately scattered them. They had not the mettle of the gallant warriors of Mongasi. After several defeats the whole tribe fled into a rugged tract of country, taking their cattle with them, and leaving no grain that the invaders could find. Homem's line of march was from Sofala to the Busi river, and thence westward along that stream, his provisions and baggage being conveyed in canoes as far as there was sufficient water. This brought him to the principal kraal or great place of the Kiteve, which was found abandoned, and to which he set fire. The wattled huts, covered with thatch, were burned to the ground, so that the kraal was completely destroyed.

Two days later he reached the territory of the Tshikanga, which included a small tract of land on the seaward side of the great range that bounds the interior plain. There, at or near Masikesi, messengers from the Tshikanga met him, with professions of friendship and a present of cattle and millet from their chief, who was greatly pleased with the reverses

that his enemy had sustained. Homem sent him assurances of good will and a valuable present in return.

A description of the country is not given in the Portuguese accounts of the expedition, but it can only have been along the gorge through which the Revue river descends to the coastlands that Homem and his band went up to Manika. Somewhere near the village of Umtali of our times the Tshikanga then resided, and when the Portuguese force drew near he went out to meet it and give it a welcome. A camp was formed at his kraal, where provisions in abundance were supplied, and the intercourse between his people and the white men was most friendly as long as the expedition remained there.

After a short rest Homem and some of his principal men visited the nearest mines, but were greatly disappointed. They had expected to find the precious metal in such abundance that they could take away loads of it, instead of which a number of naked blacks carrying baskets of earth from a deep cavity were seen, with some others washing the earth in wooden troughs and after long and patient toil extracting a few grains of gold. They at once concluded that it could be of no advantage for them to hold the country. An agreement was therefore made with the Tshikanga that he should do everything in his power to facilitate commerce with his people, and for that purpose should allow Portuguese traders or their agents to enter his country at any time, in return for which the captain of the fort of Sofala was to make him a yearly present of two hundred rolls of cotton cloth.

The expedition went no farther in the Manika country, the point reached being the place now known as Umtali, or somewhere near it. As soon as his people were refreshed, Homem set out again for the coast, without attempting to penetrate to the territory of the monomotapa. On the way messengers from the Kiteve met him, and begged for peace, so an agreement was made with them similar in terms to the one concluded with the owner of Manika.

It was at this time believed that silver was plentiful somewhere on the southern bank of the Zambesi above Tete, —the exact locality was uncertain,—and as the Bantu tribes in that direction were too weak to offer much resistance, the captain general resolved to go in search of it and endeavour to retrieve the pecuniary losses he and his predecessor had sustained. Accordingly he proceeded by sea from Sofala to the Zambesi, and having ascended that river to Sena he disembarked and marched upward along it. It was a difficult country to traverse, for there were no roads in it such as are found in Europe, but there were well beaten footpaths along which the soldiers could march in single file, and the baggage was carried by blacks whose services were obtained from the petty chiefs on the route on payment of pieces of calico and beads. The men had become accustomed in the Kiteve's territory to travel in this way, still those who were attacked by fever suffered much, and in some places water was not easy to be had. How long they were on the journey from Sena to Tshikova is not mentioned in any of the records now in existence, but it must have been many weeks, and it cannot be doubted that their ranks were greatly thinned by death on the way.

At first the inhabitants were friendly, and there was no difficulty in purchasing provisions, but on approaching Tshikova Homem found that the people abandoned their kraals and fled, so he built a fort of wood and earth, and searched the country around for silver without discovering any. There were no competent miners or mineralogists with the expedition. Finding it impossible to maintain so large a party at Tshikova any longer, the captain general then left two hundred men under Antonio Cardoso d'Almeida in the fort to continue the search, and with the remainder of the force he returned to Mozambique.

The inhabitants now went back to their kraals, but kept away from the fort. After a time provisions began to fail, so D'Almeida sent out a raiding party that secured a quantity of millet and a few cattle. Some of the inhabitants after

this asked for peace, and terms were agreed upon, but when a band of soldiers left the fort to explore the country, it was attacked, and only a few men got back again. The place was then surrounded, and the siege was maintained until the provisions were exhausted, when the Portuguese tried to cut their way out, but were all killed.

Thus ended the expeditions under Francisco Barreto and Vasco Fernandes Homem, undertaken to get possession of the mineral wealth of South-Eastern Africa. Nothing more disastrous had happened to the Portuguese since their first appearance in Indian waters. The original army and all the reinforcements sent from Lisbon had perished, excepting a few score of worn out and fever-stricken men who reached Mozambique in the last stage of despondency. To compensate for the large expenditure that had been incurred, there was nothing more than the fort São Marçal at Sena and the few buildings within it. The extent of the disaster was realised by the king, and after a short and uneventful term of office by Dom Fernando de Monroy, who succeeded Vasco Fernandes Homem, an end was put to the captain generalship of Eastern Africa, which thereupon reverted to its former position as a dependency of the viceroyalty of India.

CHAPTER XIII.

EVENTS TO THE CLOSE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

ON the 4th of August 1578 the great tragedy took place of the death of King Sebastião in battle with the Moors of Northern Africa, and the total destruction of the army which he commanded in person, the entire force of Portugal. At once the little kingdom lost the proud position she had occupied among the nations of Europe, and thereafter was regarded as of trifling importance. The country had been drained of men, and was completely exhausted. It must be remembered that she never was in as favourable a condition for conducting enterprises requiring large numbers of sailors and soldiers as the Netherlands were at a later date. She had no great reservoir of thews and muscles to draw from as Holland had in the German states. Spain was behind her, as the German states were behind the Netherlands, but Spain found employment for all her sons in Mexico and Peru. Portugal had to depend upon her own people. She was colonising Brazil and Madeira too, and occupying forts and factories on the western coast of Africa as well as on the shores of the eastern seas. Of the hosts of men—the very best of her blood—that went to India and Africa, few ever returned. They perished of fevers or other diseases, or they lost their lives in wars and shipwrecks, or they made homes for themselves far from their native land.

To procure labourers to till the soil of her southern provinces, slaves were introduced from Africa. In 1441 Antão Gonçalves and Nuno Tristão brought the first home with them, and then the doom of the kingdom was sealed.

No other Europeans have ever treated negroes so mildly as the Portuguese, or been so ready to mix with them on equal terms. But even in Estremadura, Alemtejo, and the Algarves it was impossible for the European without losing self respect to labour side by side with the African, and so all of the most enterprising of the peasant class moved away. The slaves, on embracing Christianity, had various privileges conferred upon them, and their blood became mixed with that of the least energetic of the peasantry, until a new and degenerate stock, frivolous, inconstant, incapable of improvement, was formed. In the northern provinces Entre Douro e Minho and Tras os Montes a pure European race remained, fit not only to conquer, but to hold dominion in distant lands, though too small in proportion to the entire population of the country to control its destinies. There to the present day are to be met men capable of doing anything that other Europeans can do, but to find the true descendants of the Portuguese heroes of the sixteenth century, one must not look among the lower classes of the southern and larger part of the country now.

Further, corruption of the grossest kind was prevalent in the administration everywhere. The great offices, including the captaincies of the factories and forts in the distant dependencies, were purchased from the favourites of the king, though they were said to be granted on account of meritorious services. Reversions were secured in advance, often several in succession, and there were even instances of individuals acquiring the reversion of captaincies for unnamed persons. Such offices were held for three years, and the men who obtained them did their utmost to make fortunes within that period. They were like the monomotapa of the Karanga tribe, no one could approach them to ask a favour or to conduct business without a bribe in his hand, every commercial transaction paid them a toll. They had not yet sunk in the deep sloth that characterised them at a later date, but they lived in a style of luxury undreamed of in earlier days.

The exact manner in which Dom Sebastião met his death was never known. Many of the common people refused to believe that he had been slain: he was hidden away, they asserted, and in God's good time would return and restore the kingdom to its former glory. Many generations passed away before this strange conviction ceased to be held, and all the time, in expectation of some great supernatural occurrence in their favour, the nation allowed matters to take their course without making a supreme effort to rectify them. The cardinal Dom Henrique, an imbecile old man, ascended the throne, but he died on the 31st of January 1580, and with him the famous dynasty of Avis, that had ruled Portugal so long and so gloriously, became extinct in the direct male line.

The duchess of Bragança as the nearest heir in blood might have succeeded, her title being unquestionably clear, but the spirit of the nation was gone, and the duke, her husband, did not choose to maintain her right against Philippe II of Spain, who based his pretensions to the Portuguese throne on his being descended on his mother's side from a younger branch of the late royal family. Dom Antonio, prior of Crato, an illegitimate son of the duke of Beja, second son of Manuel the Fortunate, however, seized the vacant crown, but in August 1580, as the whole people did not rally round him, was easily expelled by a Spanish army commanded by the duke of Alva. Philippe II then added Portugal to his dominions, nominally as an independent kingdom with all its governmental machinery intact as before, really as a subordinate country, whose remaining resources, such as they were, he drew upon for his wars in the Netherlands. To outward appearance the little state might seem to occupy a more impregnable position after such a close union with her powerful neighbour, but it was not so in reality. The enemies of Spain now became her enemies also, her factories and fleets were exposed to attack, and she received no assistance in defending them. The period of her greatness had for ever passed away.

The establishment of missions among the Bantu by the Dominicans was the most important occurrence in South-Eastern Africa at this period. In 1577 Dom Luis d'Ataide, when on his way to Goa to assume duty as viceroy, found at Mozambique two friars of this order, named Jeronymo de Couto and Pedro Usus Maris, who had come from India and were preparing to proceed to Madagascar to labour among the natives of that island. The viceroy induced them to remain where they were, and provided them with means to build a convent, in which six or seven of the brethren afterwards usually resided. This was the centre from which their missions were gradually extended in Eastern Africa. South of the Zambesi, Sofala, Sena, and Tete were occupied within the next few years.

The missionaries found the Europeans and mixed breeds at these places without the ministrations of chaplains, and sadly ignorant in matters spiritual. In the church within the fortress at Sena, for instance, the friars were shocked to see a picture of the Roman matron Lucretia, which had been suspended over a shrine in the belief that it was a portrait of Saint Catherine, and they observed with much surprise that no one made any distinction between fast and feast days.

They turned their attention therefore first to the nominal Christians, and succeeded in effecting some improvement in the condition of that class of the inhabitants, most of whom, however, continued to live in a way that ministers of religion could not approve of. They next applied themselves to the conversion of the Bantu, but did not meet with the success which they hoped for, though they baptized a good many individuals. It was hardly possible for them to make converts except among those who lived about the forts as dependents of the white people, and who were certainly not the best specimens of their race. The condition of the tribes was then such that anything like improvement was well nigh impossible. Wars and raids were constant, for an individual to abandon the faith and customs of his forefathers

was regarded as treason to his chief, and sensuality had attractions too strong to be set aside. Away from the forts the missionaries were compelled to endure hardships and privations of every kind, hunger, thirst, exposure to heat, fatigue, and fever; but the initial part of their duty, as they understood it, was to suffer without complaint.

In 1585 Dom João Gayo Ribeiro, bishop of Malacca, wrote to the cardinal archduke Albert of Austria, who then governed Portugal for the king, requesting him to obtain a reinforcement of missionaries for the islands of Solor and Timur, where Christianity was believed to be making rapid progress. He addressed a similar letter to the provincial of the Dominicans, and this, when made public, created such enthusiasm that a considerable number of friars at once volunteered for service in India. Among them was one named João dos Santos, to whom we are indebted for a minute and excellent account of South-Eastern Africa and its people. Dos Santos sailed from Lisbon with thirteen others of the same order on the 13th of April 1586, and on the 13th of August of that year reached Mozambique, where he received instructions from his superior to proceed to Sofala to assist the friar João Madeira, who was stationed there. Accordingly he set out in the first pangayo that sailed, and after touching at the islands of Angosha and the rivers Kilimane, Old Kuama, and Luabo on the way, reached his destination on the 5th of December. Two others of the party, the friars Jeronymo Lopes and João Frausto, went to Sena and Tete, where they remained three years and a half. When Dos Santos took up his abode at the village of Sofala Garcia de Mello was captain of the station, subject to the control of the captain of Mozambique.

The fort built by Pedro d'Anaya had before this time been reconstructed of stone, and nothing of the original walls remained, but the tower erected by Manuel Fernandes was still standing. The form of the first structure—that of a square—was preserved, and a circular bastion had been added at each of the corners. The buildings within the walls were

a church, warehouses to contain goods and stores, offices, and residences for all the officials and people engaged in trade. There was also a large cistern in which rain was collected, as the water obtained in wells was not considered good. With the exception of a bombardier, a master gunner, and six assistants, the fort was without other garrison than the European residents of the place and their servants.

Close by was a village containing six hundred inhabitants professing Christianity. These were mixed breeds and negro slaves or others employed by the Portuguese, who in case of necessity would have been called upon to assist in defending the station. In this village there was a chapel, and while Dos Santos resided there a second place of devotion was built in it, as well as another some distance outside. The friar himself went with a party of men to an island in the Pungwe river to cut the timber needed in their construction and to repair and strengthen the church within the fort. The dwelling-houses in the village were tiny structures of wattles and mud covered with thatch, not much larger or better than the huts of Bantu.

Farther away was a hamlet occupied by about a hundred Mohamedans, very poor and humble, the descendants of those who had acknowledged Isuf as their lord. There was still one among them termed a sheik, but he was without any real authority. So entirely dependent were these Mohamedans upon the Portuguese, and so subject to control, that they were obliged to pay tithes of their garden produce to the Dominican fathers, just as the residents in the neighbouring Christian village. A few individuals of their creed were scattered about the country, but all were in the same abject condition as those at Sofala.

The gardens cultivated by the inhabitants produced a variety of vegetables, such as yams, sweet potatoes, cabbages, melons, cucumbers, beans, and onions, in addition to millet, rice, sugar canes, and sesame, the last of which was grown to express the oil. Sugar was not made, but the juicy pith of the cane was esteemed as an article of diet. Fruit too

was plentiful. The most common kinds were pomegranates, oranges, limes, pineapples, bananas—usually called Indian figs,—and cocoa nuts. There were even groves of lime trees that had been allowed to become wild, the fruit of which any one who chose could gather. The principal flesh consumed by the Europeans was that of barnyard poultry, as in some parts of South-Eastern Africa at the present day, although horned cattle, goats, and pigs were plentiful. Venison of various kinds was abundant, and fish of good quality was always obtainable. Everything here enumerated could be had at trifling cost in barter for beads and squares of calico, which were used instead of coin, so that the cost of living in a simple manner was very small; but wines and imported provisions were exceedingly dear. The matical of gold was the common standard of value in commercial transactions between Europeans.

Four leagues above the fort there was in the river an island named Maroupé, about eight leagues in length by a league and a half in breadth. The greater part of this island had been given by the Kiteve to a Portuguese named Rodrigo Lobo, whom he regarded as his particular friend. But it was in no way a dependency of the European establishment at the mouth of the stream, for Lobo, though he still maintained intercourse with his countrymen, ruled there as a vassal of the Bantu overlord, just as a Karanga sub-chief would have done. He lived in a more luxurious style than any white man at Sofala, had a harem of black women, and was attended upon by numerous slaves. His descendants are to be found in the country at the present day, and still call themselves Portuguese, though they are not distinguishable from Bantu in features or colour.

Sofala was never visited now by a ship direct from Portugal or India, its imports coming from Mozambique and its exports going to that island. The coasting trade was carried on with pangayos and luzios manned by black men who claimed to be Mohamedans, but really knew and cared very little about religion, though they were excessively

superstitious and paid much attention to forms. The master, a mate, and a supercargo were commonly the only Europeans on board, and it sometimes happened that even these were mixed breeds.

Every year the Kiteve sent to the fort at Sofala for the cloth that was due to him under the agreement made by Vasco Fernandes Homem. It consisted of two hundred rolls, not mere squares, for each piece was worth more than a cruzado. It was necessary also, in order to maintain friendship with the powerful chief, to make presents of beads and calico of some value to his messengers, as they were selected by him with that expectation. This made commerce within his territory free, but any one passing through it to that of his neighbour the Tshikanga, in order to trade there, was obliged to pay him one piece of cloth out of every twenty. There was almost constant war between the four independent Karanga chiefs, the Monomotapa, Tshikanga, Kiteve, and Sedanda, which of course had a disturbing effect upon commerce.

Sena was at this time really a place of greater importance than Sofala, though it did not rank so high as a governmental station. The salaries paid to its officials amounted to little more than £500 a year, while those paid at Sofala exceeded £1100. This, however, gives nothing upon which to form an opinion of the value of an office at either place, as incomes were regarded as derivable from perquisites, not from pay. A few years later it was ascertained that one individual, whose salary during his term of office amounted to £850, had realised a fortune of not less than £57,000,—an enormous sum for that period. This was of course a very exceptional case, but probably there were few high officials who did not in some way receive their nominal salaries many times over.

Sena was the emporium of the trade of the Zambesi basin. Goods were brought here from Mozambique and stored in the warehouse within the fort until they were sent up the river to Tete in luzios, or up the Shire to the head waters

of navigation, thence to be conveyed by carriers in different directions, or to the territory of the Tshikanga to be bartered for gold. The fort was not yet fully completed, but several pieces of artillery were mounted on its walls. It contained a church, the factory with its storehouses, the residences of the captain and other officials, and the public offices. No soldiers were maintained here, the resident Portuguese and their dependents being regarded as sufficiently strong to defend the place if it should be attacked. The officials were appointed by the captain of Mozambique. In the village just outside the fort there were about fifty Portuguese residents and over seven hundred and fifty Indians, mixed breeds, and blacks. At this time slaves were not exported from the Zambesi, but captives were purchased from tribes that were at war, and were kept for service at all the stations. The blacks residing at Sena were of this class.

Every three years an embassy from the monomotapa visited Sena to receive calico and beads of the value of three thousand cruzados, which each captain of Mozambique on assuming office was obliged to pay for the privilege of trading in the great chief's territory during the term of his government. The embassy was conducted with much state, having at its head men of rank who acted in the capacities so well known to those who have dealings with Bantu, as eyes, ears, and mouth of the chief. A Portuguese returned with it, to deliver the calico and beads formally, so that everything might be carried out in a manner satisfactory to both parties. The monomotapa had a very simple way of enforcing this payment. If it was not made when due he ordered an *empata*, that is a seizure and confiscation of everything belonging to Portuguese in his country, and stopped all commerce. The goods so seized were never restored, though trade was resumed when merchandise to the full value of three thousand cruzados was forwarded to him. This system prevented payment by promises or running up accounts, which might otherwise have come into practice.

Up at the terminus of the river navigation by the Portuguese, two hundred and ninety kilometres from Sena, on the Botonga or southern bank of the stream, on ground one hundred and fifty-two metres above the level of the sea, stood Tete, the base of the trade with the interior. It contained a fort built of stone, with seven or eight pieces of artillery on its walls, which enclosed a chapel, dedicated to São Thiago, warehouses, offices, and other buildings. In the village adjoining it resided about forty Portuguese and some five hundred and fifty Indians, half breeds, and blacks professing Christianity, of the same class as those at Sofala and Sena. There was no garrison of soldiers, the fort being intended for the resident Europeans and their dependents to retire into in case of being attacked. The captain or head of the establishment was appointed by the captain of Mozambique and was subject to his authority.

Within a circuit of three or four leagues from Tete there were eleven kraals of Bantu, that could muster among them more than two thousand men capable of bearing arms. They had been conquered by the monomotapa some time before, and by him presented to the captain of Tete, who acted as their supreme ruler. So perfectly subject were they to him that they brought all cases of importance to him to be tried, and he appointed their headmen and could call out their warriors for service whenever he chose. They were the only Bantu south of the Zambesi, except the slaves and servants of the Europeans at the different stations, who were under Portuguese authority.

From Tete goods were conveyed on the backs of carriers who travelled in caravans to three stations in the Karanga territory, named Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto, at each of which a Portuguese who had charge of the local barter resided with some assistants. The most important of these stations, or places of fairs as they were called, was Masapa, twenty-two kilometres from the river Mazoe, about two hundred and ninety kilometres by footpath from Tete, and near the mountain Fura. The principal Portuguese resident

at Masapa, though selected for the post by the European inhabitants of the country conjointly with the Karanga ruler, held the office of chief under the monomotapa, by whom he was vested with power, even of death, over the Bantu residents at the station. No white man or black trader acting for one could pass Masapa without permission from the Portuguese chief or the monomotapa himself, and the chief acted as agent for the monomotapa in receiving and forwarding to him one-twentieth of all the goods brought into that part of the country to be bartered for gold and ivory. This appointment he held for life. So far he was simply a Kaffir chief, and his domestic establishment was that of one. But he was also a Portuguese official. He held a commission from the viceroy of India giving him considerable authority over the Portuguese who went to Masapa for purposes of trade, and he was the medium through whom all communications with the monomotapa passed. He had the title of *Capitão das Portas*—Captain of the Gates,—on account of his peculiar position.

Luanze was about two hundred kilometres south of Tete, between the rivers Inyadiri and Aruenya, which united below it and then flowed into the Mazoe. The principal Portuguese resident here was also a sub-chief of the monomotapa, who placed the Bantu living at the station under his authority. He held a commission from the viceroy, making him head of the Portuguese frequenting the place; but he was not such an important personage as the Captain of the Gates.

Bukoto was about fifty-eight kilometres from Masapa, seventy-five from Luanze, and two hundred and thirty-two from Tete. It was situated at the junction of a streamlet with the Mazoe, and was the least important of the three places of fairs, with nothing particular to note about it. At none of them had the Portuguese any authority whatever over the Bantu except such as was derived from the monomotapa, who permitted the trading stations to be established in his country on account of the benefit which he derived

from them. By doing so he did not consider that he had diminished his right of sovereignty, and the exercise of authority by the captains over men of their own race, by virtue of power derived from the viceroy of India, was in full accordance with Bantu ideas of government being tribal rather than territorial.

The monomotapa of the time when Dos Santos resided at Sofala, who bore also the title Mambo, was well disposed towards the Portuguese. He gave the Dominicans leave to establish missions in his country, and they had already put up little structures for places of prayer at Masapa, Luanze, and Bukoto. They had not as yet, however, men to occupy these places permanently, but the friar who resided at Tete occasionally visited them. The white people never made a request from Mambo without accompanying it with a present—usually a piece of coloured calico—for himself and something of equal value for his principal wife, their special pleader, whose name was Ma Zarira. This was the custom of the country, for no black man could obtain an audience unless he presented an ox, a goat, or something else according to his means.

In describing the country Dos Santos mentions several kingdoms bordering on the territory of the monomotapa, but in reality these were nothing more than tracts of land inhabited by Bantu tribes under independent chiefs. The kingdom of Sedanda was one of those which he named. This was the territory lying between Sofala and the Sabi river, the ocean and the mountain range bordering the interior plain, occupied by a tribe of the same blood as the Makaranga, under a chief who bore the hereditary title of Sedanda. One of the Sedandas in Dos Santos' time committed suicide, on account of his being afflicted with leprosy. Of the region west of the monomotapa's territory the Portuguese knew nothing except from vague Karanga reports, for no one of them or of the wandering Mohamedans had ever visited it. It would be useless therefore to repeat the names of the so-called kingdoms given by the Dominican friar. Of the

longitudes of places he had of course no knowledge. He believed Angola could not be very far distant, and he states that a blanket brought overland from that country by black traders was purchased by a Portuguese in Manika and shown to him at Sofala as a curiosity. It is just possible that the blanket was carried across the continent, but it is much more likely that the friar was deceived as to the place from which it came. At that time the head waters of the Zambesi were quite unknown, though the Portuguese were fairly well acquainted with the principal features of the great lake region, through accounts obtained from Mohamedan traders as well as from Bantu. Owing to this circumstance their maps of East Central Africa were tolerably correct, while those of South Africa were utterly misleading.

Dos Santos states that copper and iron were plentiful in the country. The iron was regarded as of superior quality, so much so that a quantity was once sent to India to make guns of. Though the smelting furnaces were of the crudest description, implements of this metal manufactured by themselves were used by the Makaranga in great abundance, just as a few years ago among the Bapedi farther south, where waggon loads could be collected at a single kraal. He mentions also the manufacture by some of the Bantu of machiras, or loin cloths, from cotton which grew wild along the banks of the Zambesi.

As yet no attempt had been made to colonise any part of Africa south of the Zambesi on one coast and Benguela on the other. Commerce and the conversion of the heathen were the sole objects of the Portuguese who visited the country, and indeed they had no surplus population with which to form settlements in it. They did not touch at any part of the coast between Benguela and Delagoa Bay when they could avoid doing so, because there was no trade of any kind to be carried on there and because after the slaughter of Dom Francisco d'Almeida and his people on the shore of Table Bay the Hottentots were regarded as the most ferocious of savages, with whom it

was well to have as little intercourse as possible. They would have been pleased had they found a port somewhere on the southern shore that their ships could have taken shelter in when returning from India to Lisbon during the time of the westerly gales, but, as no such harbour was discovered, they always tried to pass by in the summer season and to make the run from Mozambique to the island of Saint Helena without a break.

Some years before the arrival of Dos Santos at Sofala a dreadful wave of war and destruction rolled over the country north of the lower Zambesi. Two hordes of barbarians from some locality on or near the coast of Guinea made their way in a south-easterly direction across the continent, creating terrible havoc among the tribes along their line of march. Some of these they exterminated outright, others they robbed of big boys and girls and then destroyed the adults and the very young, and still others they either compelled or permitted to join them. War in their earlier home had set them in motion, but how long they had taken on their murderous journey there are no means of ascertaining. It may have been only a few years, or it may have been several decades; where food in abundance was to be obtained they would certainly remain till it was all consumed, where little else than human flesh was procurable they would probably hasten on. When they reached the Zambesi they appeared as two great bodies of ferocious invaders, one pursuing the other, and each with a general name, though it was composed of sections bearing distinct titles. The march of these barbarians was just such another as that of the horde under Ma Ntatisi, which passed over the country from the border of the upper Caledon river to the fringe of the Kalahari desert in the early years of the nineteenth century, leaving nothing behind it, where a thickly populated land had been, but ashes and skeletons of men and animals. And just as the horde under Ma Ntatisi broke into fragments, most of which perished, so did these hordes which appeared on the Zambesi opposite Tete in 1570.

In the accounts of the expeditions under Barreto and Homem the Portuguese writers make no mention of these African invaders from the north, though advance parties of them were on the opposite bank of the Zambesi at the same time as those commanders met on the southern side with the great disasters that have been mentioned. But they took no notice of anything that did not immediately concern them, and do not appear to have made any inquiry as to what was taking place beyond their sphere of operations. In just the same way the equally destructive wars of Tshaka, which took place not far from, but yet beyond, the Cape Colony, were not mentioned by English writers on South Africa, and were actually unknown to them, until long after they occurred. Even the Portuguese writers of a few years later, though they give ample details of the occurrences in which their countrymen took part, did not, and could not, contribute any particulars of the early transactions of the barbarian invaders, of which they were of course ignorant, except that they came from the north-west. It is only by piecing together other sources of information, by comparing the customs of tribes on the western coast, as described by Du Chaillu and other travellers, with those of the hordes here mentioned, and above all by placing the dialects of each in juxtaposition—when it will be seen that many words are identical,—that the fact of their having come from some part of Guinea is apparent.

These hordes found the Zambesi a barrier which they could not cross intact, though small parties might do so in canoes seized on the northern bank. A large section of the one in advance therefore turned to the north-east, and finally reached the shore of the Indian sea, along which it committed the most frightful ravages. Mozambique, being an island, could not be attacked, but its inhabitants suffered severely from the famine caused by the devastation of the mainland. A body of about forty Portuguese, under the captain Nuno Velho Pereira, with as many slaves as could be collected, endeavoured to protect

the plantations at Cabaceira, but nearly the whole of them perished in the attempt, and their bodies were eaten by the barbarians on the shore. Only Nuno Velho Pereira and two or three other Europeans managed to escape. Thus the greater number of the inhabitants of the island perished, and those who remained were in the direst straits for want of food until supplies reached them by sea. This happened in the year 1585.

What remained of ancient Kilwa was wiped out of existence. The Portuguese ascertained that one of its inhabitants betrayed the place by showing where the strait could be forded at low tide, and that the invaders, who had previously consumed everything on the mainland, entered the town at night, made prisoners of the Mohamedan residents, over three thousand in number, slaughtered some at once, and the others as needed until all were eaten. The wretch who betrayed the town had stipulated that the lives of his relatives should be spared, and that he should be richly rewarded from the spoils of the place. It is satisfactory to add that his perfidy received a proper recompense, for he and all his relatives were bound hand and foot and thrown into the sea, the very cannibals believing that the flesh of such traitors must be poisonous.

Mombasa would have shared the fate of Kilwa, but there were some Turkish vessels at anchor there, and several of them were drawn up in such a way as to protect the ford to the island. Everything eatable on the mainland was consumed, and famine was beginning to be felt in the town, when a Portuguese fleet commanded by Thomé de Sousa Coutinho arrived in pursuit of the Turks. Their vessels were captured, and a fort which they had built was taken, after which Mombasa was plundered and set on fire by the Portuguese. This opened the way to the barbarians, who entered the town, but to the honour of the Christians they rescued as many of the Turks and inhabitants of Mombasa as their fleet would contain, and took them away as prisoners. Many others threw themselves into the sea and

were drowned rather than fall into the hands of the cannibals, and some managed to conceal themselves and escape, so that Mombasa was not utterly depopulated as Kilwa had been.

The progress of this section of the devastating horde along the eastern coast of Africa was at length stopped at Melinde, where Mattheus Mendes de Vasconcellos, head of the factory, with thirty Portuguese and three thousand Bantu warriors, aided the Mohamedan ruler in resistance, and inflicted a defeat upon them in which they were nearly exterminated.

Shortly after the first appearance of the great horde on the Bororo or northern bank of the Zambesi, a small party managed to cross the river, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Tete, but Jeronymo d'Andrade, captain of that station, had no difficulty in driving them back, as the barbarians were so amazed at the effects of the fire from a few arquebuses, which they attributed to witchcraft, that they fled without resistance.

Not long after this event another and larger band, consisting of ten or twelve thousand men under a chief named Sonza, by some means got across the river, and attacked a clan that was friendly to the Portuguese, killing every living thing and destroying whatever they came across. Jeronymo d'Andrade got together a force of about a hundred Portuguese, and with some four thousand Batonga allies took the field against Sonza. On his approach some of the invaders constructed a rough lager or enclosure of bushes and earth, within which they attempted to defend themselves, but as they were still exposed to the fire of arquebuses they were speedily driven out. They and the others of their party were then hunted until it was believed about five thousand had been killed. The remainder of the band escaped, and joined the horde that was laying waste the country towards the coast of Mozambique.

In 1592 two sections of these invaders remained on the northern bank of the lower Zambesi. One was called by the

Portuguese the Mumbos, the other was the far-dreaded Mazimba. Dos Santos says that both were cannibals, and there is no reason to doubt his assertion, for traditions concerning the Mazimba are still current all over Southern Africa, in which they are represented as ogres or inhuman monsters, and their name is used generally to imply eaters of human flesh. But in all probability they had adopted that custom from want of other food, and would have abandoned it gradually if they had obtained domestic cattle and could have cultivated gardens. The men were much stronger and more robust than Makaranga. They carried immense shields made of ox hide, and were variously armed with assagais, battle-axes, and bows and arrows.

One of the chiefs of the Mumbos, named Kwizura, with about six hundred warriors, attacked a clan friendly to the Portuguese at Tshikarongo, north of the Zambesi, ten leagues from Tete. The clan fled after sustaining severe losses, and applied to Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, captain of Tete, for assistance. The captain thereupon summoned his eleven sub-chiefs, who at once joined him with their men, and with these and the resident Portuguese he crossed the river and marched against Kwizura, who was found in a lager of stakes and earth which he had constructed. Together with the followers of the dispossessed chief the attacking force was so strong that it was able to surround the lager and storm it, when Kwizura and every one of his warriors fell. The courtyard of the hut in which the Mumbo chief had lived was found paved with the skulls of those he had killed and eaten. After resting a few days, the people of Tete returned to their homes, taking with them as slaves Kwizura's women and children. Such was the style of warfare on the Zambesi at the close of the sixteenth century.

Dos Santos was at Tete just before this event. After a residence of three years and a half at Sofala, during which time they baptized seventeen hundred individuals, most of whom must have been Bantu, he and his associate the friar João Madeira had been summoned to Mozambique by their

provincial to labour in another field, and had left Sofala in July 1590 and travelled overland to the Zambesi in order to obtain a passage in a pangayo. But on their arrival they found no vessel would be leaving that year, so they arranged that João Madeira should remain at Sena and Dos Santos should proceed up the river to Tete to do duty for the priest there, who was prostrate with illness. He arrived at Tete in September 1590, and remained at that place until May 1591, when he went down to the mouth of the Zambesi, and with the father João Madeira proceeded to Mozambique. He was then sent to the island of Querimba, but in April 1594 was instructed to proceed to Sofala again on a special mission. In consequence of this he went to Mozambique, and when the favourable monsoon set in took passage in a pangayo bound to Delagoa Bay, which was to touch at Sofala on the passage. Five days after leaving Mozambique he reached his destination. The pangayo proceeded to Delagoa Bay, where her officers employed themselves in bartering ivory for nearly a year. She was about to return to Mozambique when some Bantu fell upon her captain Manuel Malheiro and another officer, murdered them and plundered the hut in which they had lived and the vessel. One white man remained alive, who succeeded in getting away with the empty pangayo and her Mohamedan crew. To such perils were the Portuguese exposed at the distant trading places on the coast.

On the 16th of April 1595 Dos Santos once more left Sofala for Mozambique, from which place he went to India, and then to Portugal, where his volume *Ethiopia Oriental* was printed in the Dominican convent at Evora in 1609. But his career in Africa was not yet ended, and we shall meet him again on the Zambesi in another chapter. His successor at Tete was the friar Nicolau do Rosario, of the same order, a man of great devotion, who had suffered much in the wreck of the ship *São Thomé* in 1589.

Before the destruction of Kwizura's band, while Dos Santos was still on the river, a powerful chief of the

Mazimba, named Tondo, attacked some people who were on very friendly terms with the Portuguese and who lived on the northern bank of the Zambesi opposite Sena, dispossessed them of their land and killed and ate many of them. In 1592 these fugitives applied to André de Santiago, captain of Sena, for aid, and he, desiring to emulate the action of Pedro Fernandes de Chaves, collected as large a force as he could, Portuguese, mixed breeds, slaves, and friendly Bantu, and with two cannon taken from the walls of his fort crossed the river to attack the Mazimba, who were entrenched in a lager of unusual height and strength. Finding his force unequal to the enterprise he had undertaken, the captain of Sena formed a camp on the bank of a rivulet flowing into the Zambesi, and sent to Tete for assistance.

Pedro Fernandes de Chaves responded by calling out his Bantu retainers and nearly all the Portuguese and half-breeds of Tete, with whom he crossed the Zambesi and marched down its northern bank towards the locality of the war. The Dominican friar Nicolau do Rosario accompanied the force as chaplain. When within a few miles of their destination the Portuguese and principal half-breeds, totally unsuspecting of danger, entered a thicket through which the path passed. They were half a league in advance of their Bantu auxiliaries, and, as was their usual way of travelling, were in palanquins and hammocks borne by their slaves, with other attendants carrying their arquebuses, when they were suddenly attacked by a band of Mazimba. Every man of them was killed on the spot except the friar, who was badly wounded and seized as a prisoner. He was taken to the lager and bound to a tree, where he was made a target for the arrows of his captors till death came to his relief. The Bantu auxiliaries, upon ascertaining what had happened, returned with all haste to Tete.

On the following morning the Mazimba appeared in triumph before André de Santiago's camp, with a man beating upon the drum taken from the Portuguese. Their chief was dressed in the murdered friar's robes, and the head of

Pedro Fernandes de Chaves was carried aloft on the point of an assagai. The spoil taken in the thicket was exhibited in bravado, and with it the limbs of those who had fallen, which were destined to supply a feast for the cannibal band. The captain of Sena and his men looked at the cruel Mazimba with horror and dismay. That night they attempted to retreat, but on the bank of the Zambesi the enemy fell upon them, and after a stout resistance killed André de Santiago and many of his followers. The two captains, the priest of Tete, and a hundred and thirty white men and mixed breeds had now perished. The Portuguese power and influence on the Zambesi was almost annihilated.

While these events were taking place Dom Pedro de Sousa succeeded Lourenço de Brito as captain of Mozambique. At a later date he became very unpopular as a governor, being tyrannical in his conduct and permitting his son Dom Francisco to conduct himself as a brawler without reproof. For this he was punished by order of the king, but at the time to which this narrative has reached he was new to his office and therefore untried. He resolved to recover the position that had been lost on the Zambesi, and for this purpose he enlisted as many Europeans as were obtainable, and with them, seventy-five or eighty soldiers drawn from the garrison of the fort, and a good supply of artillery and other munitions of war, in 1593 he sailed for Sena. Here he formed a camp, and enlisted white men, mixed breeds, and Bantu, until he had a force under his command of about two hundred arquebusiers and fifteen hundred blacks armed in the usual manner.

With these he crossed the river and attacked Tondo's stronghold, into which he tried to open an entrance with his cannon, but failed. Then he endeavoured to take the lager by storm, but when his men were crowded together close to it, the Mazimba shot their arrows, hurled their barbed assagais, and threw boiling water and burning fat upon them, until they fell back discomfited. Next he began to form huge wickerwork frames to be filled with earth, from the

tops of which arquebusiers could keep the wall of the lager clear with their fire while men below were breaking it down, but before they could be completed the people he had engaged at Sena, who had now been two months in the field, clamoured to be allowed to return home, fearing, as they said, that their wives and children were in danger. Dom Pedro was obliged to accede to their demand, and commenced to retreat. While he was leaving his camp the Mazimba attacked him, and after killing many of his men, took his artillery and the greater part of his baggage. He and the remnant of his army escaped to Sena with difficulty, and from that place he returned to Mozambique, leaving matters along the great river in a worse condition than ever before.

Tondo, however, made an offer of peace to the people of Sena, on condition that they should not interfere again in matters that only concerned Bantu tribes. The Mazimba, they were informed, had no desire to quarrel with white people, and had acted in self-defence throughout the war. The few traders at Sena were only too pleased to accept the proposal and resume their ordinary manner of living, though they had thereafter to submit to many insults and exactions from the victorious tribe. In 1597 some cannon and a quantity of ammunition and other supplies needed in war were sent from India by the viceroy, and the forts at Sena and Tete were equipped so that the inhabitants could find safety within them in case of attack. Gradually also men came to these stations to replace those who had been killed, so that in the time of Nuno da Cunha, who followed Jeronymo de Azevedo, Dom Pedro de Sousa's successor as captain of Mozambique, the villages recovered their earlier appearance.

These wars had such important consequences for all South-Eastern Africa that they should be treated of much more fully, but authentic documentary material does not exist for the purpose. It is only, therefore, by piecing together certain facts that deductions can be drawn as to what

actually occurred. The Mumbos of the Portuguese are to a certainty the Abambo of more recent history, but what their relationship to the Mazimba was cannot be definitely stated. In all probability, however, they were enemies, and one horde was following or pursuing the other from some starting point far to the northwestward, just as the Amangwane pursued the kindred Amahlubi over the Drakensberg during the wars of Tshaka early in the nineteenth century.

A section of the Abambo must have directed its march towards the south some time between 1570 and 1590, though it is impossible to recover the exact date or to trace the line of advance. That it was a raid terribly destructive of human life cannot be doubted, for all such invasions by Bantu are. The Portuguese may have taken no notice of it, as it did not affect them in any way, or they may have been too deeply absorbed with their own troubles to place anything else on record, or they may even have been entirely ignorant of what was going on at a short distance from them, just as the Cape government and Cape colonists were for many years of the murderous career of the Amangwane or the Matabele.

The Abambo at length reached the valley of the Tugela, in what is now the province of Natal, where they formed settlements. The horde must have been composed of the remnants of various tribes that had once been independent of each other. After it increased in number it broke up again into independent fragments, in which condition its sections were when Tshaka's trained regiments commenced their career of conquest. The tribes that had once formed the Abambo were then again dispersed and nearly exterminated, as will be related in another volume.

It is highly probable that many of the ancestors of the men who fought under Tshaka were connected with the Mazimba of the sixteenth century, and followed the Abambo southward. There was a great deal in common between them, including the special military tactics which enabled

Tshaka to win his greatest victories. This, however, is not absolutely certain, though a great amount of evidence points in that direction.

These movements of tribes, of whom before they arrived on the Zambesi absolutely nothing is known, and the career of some of whose offshoots can only be dimly traced by means of indirect evidence, caused a great expansion of the Bantu along the south-eastern coast. The Hottentots and Bushmen were too weak to resist, and such modern tribes as the Xosa, Tembu, and Pondo then branched off from a parent stock, and pressed on to the south-west to get away from the commotions behind them.

The manner in which the Portuguese carried on trade in the country varied at different periods during the sixteenth century. At first it was conducted by factors appointed by the king, who sent out agents to sell goods supplied by the royal treasury, into which the proceeds were paid. After a time, however, the principal officials, whose salaries were very small, were allowed a share of the commerce, which was strictly defined. Thus, in 1559 the viceroy gave permission to Pantaleão de Sá, captain of Sofala and Mozambique, to purchase and send to India one hundred bars* of ivory every year for sale on his own account. In 1562 Fernão Martins Freire d'Andrade, captain of Sofala and Mozambique, was granted by royal authority a monopoly of the commerce of the coast in pitch and coir, one-twentieth of the proceeds of the ivory barter upon his contributing one-twentieth of the capital employed in it, and was further to have a two-hundredth part of the profits on all other trade within the territory south of the Zambesi; and the factors and notaries were to have another two-hundredth part divided amongst them. The trade was still to be conducted for the royal

* The bar was a varying weight on the East African coast. At Mozambique it was equal to 229·6 kilogrammes of our time; on the Zambesi to 293·8 kilogrammes; at Sofala, if of ivory 239·8 kilogrammes, if of other merchandise 247·9 kilogrammes. Under these circumstances it is impossible in many instances to give the weight with absolute accuracy.

treasury, and the captain was to send requisitions to Goa for the merchandise needed to carry it on.

In 1585 Dom Jorge de Menezes, chief ensign of Portugal, succeeded Nuno Velho Pereira as captain of Mozambique. On his appointment the viceroy Dom Duarte de Menezes granted him a monopoly of the trade of Inhambane and of the whole coast south of Delagoa Bay, and subsequently farmed out to him the entire commerce of the country south of the Zambesi for fifty thousand cruzados a year. But in addition to this he was to maintain the forts in good order and to pay all the officials and expenses of government of every kind, according to a list which was drawn up. On the expiration of his term of office he was to undergo a trial, and was to prove that these conditions had been faithfully observed and that all public buildings were in the same state as when he took them over.

This system had the advantage of adding something to the royal treasury, and of extending commerce more than ever before. When the experiment was made Sofala was yielding nothing except the profit on a small quantity of ivory, insufficient to meet the trifling cost of the maintenance of the station: four years later elephants' tusks weighing twenty - three thousand kilogrammes were collected there yearly. Greater profit was gained from ivory than from any other article of commerce in Eastern Africa at this time. Taking one year with another, a quantity weighing nearly fifty thousand kilogrammes was sent annually to India by the captains while they had a monopoly of the trade. Gold came next, but the quantity obtained cannot be even approximately stated. Ambergris followed, and then in order pearls, gum, and wax. The system made the whole of the Portuguese inhabitants of the country dependents of the captain of Mozambique, but their position was quite as bad before. The most that can be said in favour of it is that the law protected them in person and property, and that after 1548 no sentence of death could be carried into execution until it was confirmed by the supreme court of India.

In 1591 the government of Lisbon ordered the trade to be carried on again by the king's treasury, but two years later another experiment was made. This was to allow the captain of Mozambique a monopoly of the commerce in ivory, ambergris, and coir, and one-fiftieth of all the gold collected ; and to throw open the trade in gold and other articles to all Portuguese subjects. Customs duties at the rate of six per cent upon goods imported and of twenty per cent upon gold exported were to be paid. This plan was in operation only two years when it was abandoned, and the system of farming out the whole of the commerce of the country south of the Zambesi to the captain of Mozambique was again resorted to. In 1596 Nuno da Cunha was appointed to that office, when the viceroy entered into a contract with him to pay forty thousand pardaos, or £9,600,* a year for his monopoly, to which the king added that he must also pay customs duties on merchandise imported.

North of the Zambesi the inhabitants of Mozambique were allowed to trade, as the policy of the government was to encourage them, in order to strengthen the means of defence of the fort. The jurisdiction of the captain at the close of the sixteenth century extended to all the stations and trading places from the island of Inyaka to Cape Delgado.

* Reckoning the pardao at three hundred and sixty reis, and the real as at this time equal to 0·16*d*. But it is very doubtful what the word pardao really signified in the contract. In another document I have found it used as an equivalent for cruzado, and in still another as equivalent to a xerafin of three hundred reis. If the gold coin of the name was meant, the amount would be about £14,000. It is not possible to give the exact equivalent, as unless where expressly stated as of gold, the pardao of the accounts, like the real, was an imaginary coin, representing different values not only at different times but at different places at the same time.

CHAPTER XIV.

KNOWLEDGE DERIVED FROM SHIPWRECKS.

OF the Bantu tribes along the seaboard north of the Umzimvubu a good deal of knowledge was obtained during the sixteenth century by the crews of wrecked ships, some of whom underwent almost incredible suffering before their restoration to the society of civilised men. By order of King Sebastião a flying survey of the coast between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Correntes was also made during the years 1575 and 1576, by which much information was supposed to have been gained.

Occasionally vessels disappeared after leaving Portugal or India, and were never heard of again. Some of these were probably lost on the African shore, though of this there is no certainty except in one instance, when part of a stranded ship was found at the mouth of the river now known as the Saint Lucia, but without a trace of any one that had sailed in her. Particulars, however, have been preserved of the loss successively of the *São João*, the *São Bento*, the *Santiago*, the *São Thomé*, and the *Santo Alberto*, from each of which some of the crew escaped, and after much intercourse with Bantu succeeded in reaching Mozambique.

The *São João* was a great galleon laden with a very valuable cargo, which left Cochin on the 3rd of February 1552 to return to Portugal. She had about two hundred and twenty Portuguese and nearly four hundred slaves on board, and, as was usual at that time, an officer of high rank who was going home was captain in command. The master of the ship directed the working, and the pilot pointed out

the course, but the captain gave instructions in such matters as what ports they were to put into and when they were to sail; he also preserved discipline and exercised general control. The captain of the *São João*—Manuel de Sousa Sepulveda by name—was accompanied by his wife, Dona Leonor, a young and amiable lady of noble blood, his two little sons, and a large train of attendants and slaves, male and female.

On the 12th of May, when only a hundred and twenty kilometres from the Cape of Good Hope, the galleon encountered a violent gale from the west-north-west, and soon a very heavy sea was running, as is usually the case when the wind and the Agulhas current oppose each other. Some sails had been lost in a storm on the equator, and there were no others on board than those in use, which were old and worn. On this account it was not considered prudent to attempt to lie to, and so the ship was put before the wind under her fore and main courses. After some days the gale veered to another quarter, shifting at last to the west-south-west, when the tremendous seas caused the ship to labour so heavily that she lost her masts and rudder. Those on board feared every moment that she would go down. An attempt was made, however, to set up jury masts, to fix a new rudder, and with some cloth that was on board converted into a substitute for sails to endeavour to reach Mozambique. But the new rudder, being too small, proved useless, and the galleon like a helpless log was driven towards the coast, from which there were no means of keeping her. On the 8th of June she was close to the land a little to the eastward of the mouth of the Umzimvubu, very near if not exactly off the spot where the English ship *Grosvenor* was lost two hundred and thirty years later. There, as the weather had moderated, the bower anchors were dropped, between which the galleon lay at a distance of two crossbow shots from the shore, almost waterlogged.

The captain now resolved to land the people and as much provisions and other necessaries as possible, to construct a

temporary fort, and with materials taken from the ship to build a small caravel that could be sent to Sofala for aid. There was no hope of saving the cargo, but he thought of getting out some calico with which to obtain food in barter from the inhabitants of the country, if that should be needed. Only two boats were left, of which one was little larger than a skiff. In these the captain, his family, and about seventy others were conveyed to the shore. But on the third day the wind freshened and caused a heavy swell, both the boats were dashed to pieces on the rocks, and the seaward cable of the galleon parting, she was driven on shore and within a few hours broke into fragments. Over a hundred men and women were lost in the surf, and many of those who reached the land alive were badly bruised.

All hope of getting timber to build a caravel was now lost, and only a small quantity of food was secured. As soon therefore as the bruised people were sufficiently recovered to travel, the whole party set out to try to walk along the shore to the river of Lourenço Marques. To that place a small vessel was sent nearly every year from Mozambique to barter ivory, and the only faint chance of preserving their lives that remained to the shipwrecked people was to reach the river and find the trading party. They had seen some Kaffirs on the hills close by, and had heard those barbarians shouting to each other, but had not been able to obtain any information or provisions from them.

On the 7th of July they left the scene of the wreck. At the end of a month they were only a hundred and forty-four kilometres from it, for they had been obliged to make many detours in order to cross the rivers. Their sufferings from thirst were at times greater than from cold, hunger, and weariness combined. Of all the party Dona Leonor was the most cheerful, bidding the others take heart, and talking of the better days that were to come. They eked out their little supply of food with wild plants, oysters, and mussels, and sometimes they found quite an abundance of fish in pools among the rocks at low tide.

And now every day two or three fell behind exhausted, and perished. To add to their troubles, bands of Kaffirs hovered about them, and on several occasions they were attacked, though as they had a few firelocks and some ammunition, they were easily able to drive their assailants back. At the end of three months those who were in advance reached the territory of the old Inyaka, whom Lourenço Marques and Antonio Caldeira had named Garcia de Sá, and whose principal kraal was on the right bank of the Umfusi river, which flows into Delagoa Bay. This chief received them in a friendly manner, supplied them with food and lodging, and sent his men to search for those who were straggling on behind. In return, he asked for assistance against a chief living about thirty-two kilometres to the southward, with whom he was at war. De Sousa sent an officer and twenty men to help him, with whose aid he won a victory and got possession of all his opponent's cattle.

Garcia de Sá wished the white people to remain with him, and he warned them against a tribe that lived in front, but as soon as they were well rested and had recovered their strength, they resolved to push on. They crossed the Maputa in canoes furnished by the friendly chief, and five days later reached the Espirito Santo, where they learned from some of the inhabitants, through the interpretation of a female slave from Sofala who had picked up a little of the dialect, that a vessel from Mozambique, having men like themselves on board, had been there, but was then a long time gone. Manuel de Sousa now became partly demented, and his brave wife, Dona Leonor, who had borne all the hardships of the journey so cheerfully, was plunged by this new misfortune into the greatest distress.

With what object is not stated, but for some reason they still pressed on northward. They were reduced to one hundred and twenty souls, all told, when they crossed the Espirito Santo or river of Lourenço Marques in canoes supplied by the inhabitants at the price of a few nails, and entered the territory of the chief of whom Garcia de Sá had

warned them. His kraal was about five kilometres farther on. He professed to receive them with favour, and for a few days supplied them with provisions, but at length informed them that they must entrust him with the care of their arms while they were in his country, as that was one of his laws. Dona Leonor objected to this, but the males of the party complied with the chief's demand, in the belief that by doing so they would secure his friendship. As soon as they were in a defenceless condition he caused them to be separated, under pretence of distributing them among different kraals where they would be provided with food, but kept the captain with his family and about twenty others at his own residence.

Those who dispersed were immediately stripped of their clothing and driven away to perish. Then the captain was robbed of a quantity of precious stones—worth several thousand pounds—as well as some gold that he had with him, and he and his family and attendants were ordered to leave the kraal. They wandered about for two days, without meeting any of their late associates in misery, when some of the inhabitants fell upon them and stripped them naked. Dona Leonor, who fought like a tigress while the barbarians were tearing her garments from her, sat down on the ground with her two little boys, her half demented husband, and a few faithful female slaves beside her. The white men of the party, who could do nothing to relieve such anguish as hers, went on in search of wild plants with which to prolong their lives. Shortly afterwards one of the boys died of hunger, when the father scraped a hole in the sand and buried the body. The next day he went to seek some roots or berries for his starving wife, and on his return found her and the other child dead and the slave women wailing loudly. They buried the mother and child in the sand, after which the sorely afflicted nobleman disappeared in a thicket, and was never seen again.

Eight Portuguese, fourteen male slaves, and three of the female slaves who were with Dona Leonor when she died,

managed to preserve their lives. Some of them wandered to a distance of eighty kilometres from the scene of the last disaster. At length a trading vessel put into the bay in search of ivory, and her captain, hearing of the unfortunate people, rescued them by offering for each a trifling reward in beads.

They reached Mozambique on the 25th of May 1553. Diogo de Mesquita, who was then captain of that island and the stations south of the Zambesi, sent a little vessel to search along the coast, but no trace of any of the lost people could be found.*

* It is this tragic occurrence to which Luis de Camões alludes in the fifth canto of the *Lusiads*, verses 46 to 48 :

46.

Outro tambem virá de honrada fama,
Liberal, cavalleiro e namorado,
E comsigo trará a formosa dama,
Que Amor por grão mercê lhe terá dado :
Triste ventura e negro fado os chama
Neste terreno meu, que duro e irado
Os deixará d'hum cru naufragio vivos,
Para verem trabalhos excessivos.

47.

Verão morrer com fome os filhos charos,
Em tanto amor gerados e nascidos ;
Verão os Cafres asperos e avaros
Tirar á linda dama seus vestidos ;
Os crystallinos membros e preclaros
Á calma, ao frio, ao ar verão despidos,
Depois de ter pizada longamente
Co' os delicados pés a arêa ardente.

48.

E verão mais os olhos que escaparem
De tanto mal, de tanta desventura,
Os dous amantes miseros ficarem
Na fervida e implacabil espessura ;
Alli, depois que as pedras abrandarem
Com lagrimas de dôr de magoa pura,
Abraçados as almas soltarão
Da formosa e miserrima prisão.

The *São Bento* was one of a fleet of five ships sent by King João the third to India in March 1553. Among those who sailed in her on her outward passage was Luis de Camões, whose name still lives as that of the prince of Portuguese poets. She was one of the largest vessels of her time, and was commanded by Fernão Alvares Cabral, who was commodore of the squadron. Having reached her destination in safety, she took in a return cargo, and sailed from Cochin on the 1st of February 1554. On the passage stormy weather with a very heavy sea was encountered, in which the ship sustained great damage, and when she reached the African coast it was feared every moment that she would go to the bottom. On the 21st of

As translated into English by J. J. Aubertin :

46.

Another too shall come of honoured fame,
Liberal and generous and with heart enchained,
And with him he shall bring a lovely dame,
Whom through Love's favouring grace he shall have gained ;
Sad fate, dark fortune nought can e'er reclaim,
Call them to this my realm, where rage unreined
Shall leave them after cruel wreck alive,
With labours insupportable to strive.

47.

Their children shall die starving in their sight,
Who were in such affection bred and born ;
They shall behold by Caffres' grasping might
Her clothing from the lovely lady torn ;
Shall see her form, so beautiful and white,
To heat, cold, wind, exposed, and all forlorn,
When she has trod o'er leagues and leagues of land
With tender feet upon the burning sand.

48.

And more those eyes shall witness, which survive,
Of so much evil and so much mischance ;
Shall see the two sad lovers, just alive,
Into the dense unpitying woods advance ;
There, where the hearts of very stones they rive
With tears of grief and anguished sufferance,
In fond embrace their souls they shall set free
From the fair prison of such misery.

April she struck upon a rocky ledge on the western side of the mouth of the Umtata,* and in a few minutes broke into fragments.

Forty-four Portuguese and over a hundred slaves lost their lives in trying to reach the shore, and two hundred and twenty-four slaves and ninety-nine Portuguese, many of them severely bruised, managed to get to land. Among the latter was Manuel de Castro, one of the few survivors of the crew of the *São João*, who died, however, a few hours later from injuries received during the breaking up of the ship. A small quantity of provisions was washed ashore with the débris of the cargo, but it was so much damaged with salt water that it could not long remain fit for use.

After this was collected and a temporary shelter was made of carpets and silks, a general consultation took place as to what was best to be done. Some thought it advisable to try to march overland to the watering place of Saldanha, but this was overruled by the majority, because of the fierceness of the people living in that direction, as had been proved by the slaughter of the viceroy D'Almeida and so many of his companions, and further because vessels very seldom called there and consequently, even if they should arrive with life, most probably all would perish before relief appeared. Others were of opinion that they should remain where they were and endeavour to construct some kind of craft that could be sent to Sofala for aid, but this too was overruled, as the supply of food would soon be exhausted, and they had no proper materials for building a boat. There was then but one other plan. Before they left India

* Termed the Infante in the account of the wreck given by one of the officers who was saved, but there is ample evidence in this document and in another by the same officer that the Umtata was the scene of the disaster. On that wild and little frequented coast the mouth of any considerable stream south of the Umzimvubu would be set down as the Infante by a Portuguese who saw it. He would know there was a large river of that name somewhere between the Umzimvubu and the islet of the Cross, and he would not know there were many others. The crew of the *São Bento* passed over no stream of any importance before they reached the Umzimvubu, the *São Christovão* as they termed it.

Lourenço Marques was preparing for a voyage to the river which bore his name, in order to trade for ivory, and their only hope of life was to make their way northward and reach him before his departure, which would be some time in June, or, if that should fail, to push on to Sofala.

Accordingly, on the 27th of April they set out, each one heavily laden with food, pieces of calico, and nails or other iron for barter. A ship's boy and a female slave, who were too severely hurt to live long, were of necessity left behind. They had seen a few naked savages at the place of the wreck, but there were no huts or any indications of kraals in the neighbourhood, so after crossing the river they directed their course inland, towards the north-east, in hope of finding people from whom they could obtain guides and provisions in exchange for iron. But for four days they were disappointed, and when on the fifth day of their march they came to a kraal of about twenty huts, its inhabitants were found to be living on wild roots and plants, so that no food was to be had from them.

Finding the country almost uninhabited, a little later they resolved to turn towards the shore, where they could at least obtain shellfish, and where they believed the rivers could be more easily crossed than inland, as all had bars of sand at their mouths. Before they reached the Umzimvubu several of the weakest of the party became utterly exhausted, and were abandoned on the way. The passage of this river was accomplished with the greatest difficulty, and on the following day, the thirteenth of the journey, the sea was reached at the place where the *São João* was lost. Some of her timbers were still to be seen, and in a deserted kraal in the neighbourhood pieces of chinaware and other articles used by Europeans were found.

After this, keeping along the shore, they found a good supply of mussels and oysters, and considered the beach much better for travelling over than the rough mountains and valleys inland. The country was inhabited, but its people were hostile, bands of them constantly hovering

about, ready to attack loiterers. Five days after leaving the Umzimvubu they reached the Umtamvuna, which they crossed on rafts, after a skirmish with the inhabitants. Four days later they were on the right bank of the Umzimkulu. Here the people were very friendly, singing and clapping their hands as they came forward to see the strangers, and bringing food to sell for little pieces of iron. It was the first they had been able to purchase since they set out on their journey twenty-two days before. Here was found a young man from Bengal who had been left behind by Manuel de Sousa's party, but as he could not speak Portuguese he was of little or no service. He declined to leave the connections he had formed, and when Cabral went on two Portuguese and about thirty slaves remained with him and the friendly inhabitants.

Three days march farther brought them to the Umkomanzi, which they crossed at a ford pointed out by some Kaffirs, whose friendship they requited by endeavouring to make prize of a large basket of millet. This brought on a skirmish, which ended, however, in their opponents being compelled to retire. At the Umkomanzi they were joined by a young man named Gaspar, a Moor by birth, who was left behind by Manuel de Sousa. He had acquired the language of the people among whom he had been living, but was glad of an opportunity to get away from the country, and so went on with them and made himself useful as an interpreter.

At the end of another three days they were at a place which they called the mouth of the Pescaria, and which, from the description given, was in all probability the inlet on which the present city of Durban is situated. They were not the first white men, however, that saw it, for Manuel de Sousa had passed round its shores, and of his party a Portuguese named Rodrigo Tristão, a young man from Malabar, and two slaves were then living there. The inhabitants were very friendly, and brought such a quantity of provisions, including goats, to sell for iron, that they

easily supplied themselves with as much as they could consume and carry away. Rodrigo Tristão went on with them, but the Indian and the slaves preferred to remain where they were.

They were six days marching to the Tugela, which they termed the Saint Lucia, stopping on the journey only to purchase a cow and to take the needful rest, though they suffered greatly from thirst. The river was crossed on rafts, but the captain Fernão Alvares Cabral and another white man were overturned in the current and lost their lives. Francisco Pires, the boatswain, was then chosen to lead the party, and after resting a day they moved on.

South of the Tugela they had suffered much from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, but they had managed to move forward about thirteen kilometres a day in a direct line, perhaps actually walking twenty-two or twenty-three. They were now entering a district much more difficult to travel in, owing to the swamps and sheets of shallow water that abounded in it, the want of shellfish on the sandy coast, and the poverty of the inhabitants, most of whom were hostile. Their iron for barter was nearly exhausted, and only on a very few occasions were they able to purchase a little food. One day's hardships resembled those of the next: struggling through marshes, fainting with hunger, skirmishing with Bantu, their number decreased rapidly. To such a condition were they reduced that some of them cooked and ate human flesh. At length, on the 7th of July fifty-six Portuguese and six slaves, reduced almost to skeletons and covered with rags, reached the kraal of the Inyaka, Garcia de Sá, on the south-eastern shore of Delagoa Bay.

Here they were at first well received, but from the avidity with which the Portuguese ivory traders the year before had purchased the gold and jewels taken from Manuel de Sousa the chief had learned how valuable these things were, and presently he required the unfortunate men to

give him everything they had in exchange for food. When they had done this they found that there was at the time such a scanty supply of provisions in the country that the chief, with the best intentions, could not furnish sufficient to keep them alive, and thus they were little better off than before. From their faulty chart they believed the river of Lourenço Marques to be still eighteen leagues distant, but they were so destitute and exhausted that they could go no farther. Hunger, sickness, ravenous animals, and vermin had to be contended with, and to add to their distress the interpreter Gaspar, who had ingratiated himself with the chief, treated them with the utmost cruelty and scorn.

Then they scattered about in different kraals, and were everywhere treated with such indignity and suffered such misery that the living envied those who died. At last, on the 3rd of November a sail appeared in the bay, to the inexpressible joy of the few who still survived. It was the trading vessel from Mozambique, commanded by Bastião de Lemos, who received his almost expiring countrymen with every mark of kindness, and did what he could to restore them to health and vigour. From him they learned that the cause of Lourenço Marques not having visited that part of the coast during the preceding season was his having suffered shipwreck on the passage.

Four months and a half the little vessel remained in the bay, her crew trading for ivory with the different chiefs in reach of their boats. On the 20th of March 1555 with the first westerly wind of the season she sailed for Mozambique, taking with her Rodrigo Tristão, of the *São João*, and twenty Portuguese and four slaves, of the *São Bento*. Of the three hundred and twenty individuals who set out from the mouth of the Umtata, all the others had either perished or were left behind at kraals on the line of march.

A few years later Francisco Barreto, shortly after being governor-general of India, narrowly escaped shipwreck on the African coast. Upon the arrival of his successor, the viceroy

Dom Constantino de Bragança, on the 20th of January 1559 he left Goa in the ship *Aguia* to return to Portugal. Very heavy weather was encountered off the southern shore, and the ship was so disabled that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat. Barreto then resolved to get as far back towards Mozambique as possible, to keep close to the land on the way, and to run the hulk aground in the last extremity. Fortunately, however, he was not obliged to resort to this extreme measure, for the wind was favourable and the island was reached without further disaster.

The *Aguia* was unladen and repaired at Mozambique, and on the 17th of November she set sail once more. She had not proceeded far when she again sprang a leak, and soon afterwards a westerly gale was encountered which lasted three days. The pilot, who was a veteran in the service, declared that such an occurrence at that time of the year had never been known before, and as all on board looked upon it as a warning from God not to persevere in the voyage, the ship's head was again turned towards Mozambique. Barreto now abandoned the *Aguia* and proceeded to India in a little vessel, in which he nearly perished of thirst on the passage. After some delay at Goa he embarked in the homeward bound ship *São Gião*, and without further mishap reached Lisbon in June 1561, twenty-nine months after he first set out to return to that city.

Owing to this occurrence and others of a similar nature, King Sebastião issued instructions to Manuel de Mesquita Perestrello, one of the surviving officers of the *São Bento*, to survey the African coast from Cape Correntes to the Cape of Good Hope, and ascertain if there were any harbours in which ships could winter if necessary and at all times find shelter during those gales from the westward that caused the heavy sea. For this purpose the experienced seaman left Mozambique in a small vessel on the 22nd of November 1575. No method of determining longitudes was then known, and the instrument used for ascertaining the sun's altitude at noon was so clumsy that observations made with it on

shipboard were almost always incorrect. Some of the latitudes of points on the coast given by Manuel de Mesquita are more than eighty kilometres from their true position, and in his report, which was intended to be a guide for navigators, he lays down as a rule that the topography of the different places visited must alone be depended upon.

His survey therefore was nothing more than an inspection from the deck of his vessel of the shore from about the Kowie river westward, but soundings were taken, the compass bearings of the points of the bays from the anchorages within them were ascertained, and sketches—some of them almost grotesque—of the scenery at each one were made. Distances were laid down merely by guess. As far as the coast between the Bird islands and Delagoa Bay was concerned he depended upon his overland journey twenty-one years before, and as he mistook the Umtata for the river now known as the Fish, his observations upon that part of the seaboard were most inaccurate. Thus he estimated the mouth of the Umzimvubu—by him called the São Christovão—as only about forty-five kilometres from that of the Fish, and in his chart also he lays it down in that position. Here he actually made an error of fully two hundred and fifty-eight kilometres.

The best shelter along the whole coast, according to him, was to be found within the curve of the land at the mouth of the Breede river, to which as a compliment to the king he gave the name Saint Sebastian's Bay. There, he reported, a vessel would be protected from all winds except those from east-north-east to south-east. An east wind was blowing when he was there, to which he attributed the heavy surf on the bar at the mouth of the Breede river, but he thought that during the westerly monsoon the passage would be smooth, and then a whole fleet might enter the inner harbour and be perfectly landlocked. The place abounded with fish, and plenty of fresh water was to be had.

Next in importance he regarded the watering place of Saint Bras, now called Mossel Bay. He described it as

sheltered from all winds except those from north-east to south-east by east, and as having good holding ground for anchors. The islet in it he found covered with seals and penguins. Of the hermitage built there three quarters of a century earlier, and dedicated to Saint Bras, nothing now remained but portions of the walls a metre or thereabouts in height. On the highest point of the western cape on the 7th of January 1576 he set up a wooden cross, and attached to it a sealed tube containing a record of the event.

Fermosa Bay—now Plettenberg's Bay—and the bay which he named Saint Francis he also regarded as good ports for the purpose needed, both being sheltered from all winds excepting those from the north-east to the south, having good ground for anchoring, and plenty of fresh water within reach. Of the bay Da Lagoa—now Algoa—he thought less highly, though he was of opinion that shelter could be found near the islet of the Cross.

His latitudes and distances are so incorrect that it is impossible to state with precision the limits of his land of Natal, but he seems to have regarded the coast from about the Kei to the Umkomanzi as coming under that designation. He described it as being without ports or rivers into which large ships could enter. Of the inlet termed in modern times the bay of Natal he makes no mention whatever, though his Point Pescaria is most probably the present Bluff.

The Bay into which the rivers Maputa, Santo Espirito, and Manisa flow he was able to describe more accurately than any other on the south-eastern coast, owing to his residence on its shores in former years. The old Inyaka Garcia de Sá, who had assisted the wrecked people of the *São João* and the *São Bento*, was still alive in 1576.

Of the remaining part of the survey it is needless to state anything more than that it was in all respects so defective that it could not have been of use to vessels frequenting the coast, if there had been any such. Manuel de Mesquita's report marks the highest point of knowledge of the African shore south of Delagoa Bay acquired by the Portuguese

before they were superseded in the eastern traffic by the Dutch, but for any other purpose it is valueless. Saint Sebastian's Bay, Saint Francis Bay, and Point Delgada still retain the names which he gave to them, and it is interesting to remember that the first of these serves to connect South Africa with the young and gallant king who disappeared in battle with the Moors at El-Kasr el-Kebîr, but who, in the belief of the lower classes of the Portuguese for generations, was one day to reappear and restore his country to its former glory.*

The narrative of the wreck of the ship *Santiago* throws hardly any special light upon the condition of the Bantu, but from it some particulars concerning the trade of the Portuguese along the lower Zambesi are to be obtained. The *Santiago* sailed from Lisbon for Goa on the first of April 1585, with more than four hundred and fifty souls on board, and in the night of the 18th of August struck upon a shoal in the Mozambique channel, where she went to pieces. Five or six rafts were made, and on these and in two small boats some of the people tried to get to the African coast. One raft and the two boats succeeded in reaching the shore between the Luabo and the Kilimane mouths, the people on the other rafts were either drowned, or perished from starvation.

The commerce of the delta of the Zambesi and of the territory bordering upon it to the south was at this time to a small extent in the hands of Arab mixed breeds, who professed to be vassals of the Portuguese. The principal man

*The names on Perestrello's chart are the following: Cabo de Boa Esperança, Cabo Falso, Cabo das Agulhas, Cabo do Infante, Bahia de S. Sebastião, Cabo das Vacas, Cabo de S. Bras, Agoada de S. Bras, Cabo Talhado, Bahia de S. Caterina, Cabo das Baxas, Ponta Delgada, Bahia Ferosa, Cabo das Serras, Bahia de S. Francisco, Cabo do Arrecife, Ilha da Cruz, Bahia da Lagoa, Ilheos Chaos, Ponta do Padrão, Rio do Infante, Rio de S. Christovão, Primeira Ponta do Natal, Ponta do Meio, Ponta Derradeira, Ponta de Pescaria, Ponta de S. Lucia, Rio de S. Lucia, Rio dos Medãos do Ouro, Ponta dos Fumos, Terra dos Fumos, Bahia de Lourenço Marques, Rio do Santo Espirito, Rio do Maniça, and Rio do Ouro.

among them was one Muinha Sedaca, who was wealthy and had a large establishment. He showed much kindness to those of the wrecked people who landed near his residence, and assisted them to reach a place of safety.

The chief commerce, however, was in the hands of a Portuguese named Francisco Brochado, who had acquired great influence and power in the country. He was a man of good family, and had settled on the Zambesi thirty years before. He had two great establishments, consisting entirely of slaves, one at Kilimane, the other on the Luabo, and at each he resided during a portion of the year. His generosity to his wrecked countrymen was unbounded, and by him they were clothed and otherwise cared for until they could embark at Kilimane for Mozambique.

Francisco Brochado held the title of an office from the Portuguese government, but his power was not due to that: it was owing solely to the influence which a resolute, active, and able man had acquired over a community of barbarians. It was entirely personal. Portuguese rule existed at Kilimane, and, above the delta, at Sena, but except at those stations Bantu chiefs governed their followers, and knew nothing of foreign supremacy beyond the influence which Brochado had gained among them. He had leased from the captain at Sofala and Mozambique a monopoly of the commerce of the delta, and all the boats on the rivers—excepting a few small ones owned by the Arab mixed breeds—were in his service. The profits were commonly enormous, but the trade was fluctuating and subject to many reverses.

In January 1589 the ship *São Thomé* sailed from Cochin for Portugal. No vessel so richly laden had left the Indian seas for many years, but so widespread was corruption among the officials of all classes that she was very insufficiently furnished for the passage. Her captain was a man of little ability, named Estevão da Veiga. There were many passengers on board, among whom were Dom Paul de Lima and his lady Dona Beatrice, Bernardim de Carvalho, Gregorio Botelho and his daughter Dona Mariana,

who was proceeding to Portugal to rejoin her husband Guterre de Monroy, Dona Joanna de Mendonça, widow of Gonçalo Gomes d'Azevedo, who had her only child, a little girl not two years of age, with her, and Diogo de Couto, who had been wrecked before in the *Santiago*.

The officers were desirous of reaching the island of St. Helena before any of the other vessels which left Cochin at the same time, so they crowded on sail until the ship sprang a leak off the southern point of Madagascar. The leak was partly stopped, and the ship continued on her course until the 12th of March, when a south - westerly wind was encountered, and the water began anew to gain rapidly on the pumps. An effort was then made to reach Mozambique, pumping and baling were carried on incessantly, and the ship was lightened as much as possible, but a few days later it was seen that she could not float many hours longer.

There was a very large boat on the deck, which was now got into the water. A scramble took place, each man striving to fight his way into it, so that by the time it got clear of the ship it contained no fewer than one hundred and nine individuals. The three ladies were among the number, but the agony of the widow De Mendonça was intense, for her child was in the sinking ship, and its nurse would not give it up unless she too were rescued. This was not possible, for already the boat was so overcrowded that to lighten her twelve men were thrown out and drowned.

There was a Dominican friar, Nicolau of the Rosary by name, on board the *São Thomé*, and those in the boat shouted to him to jump overboard and swim to them, when they would pick him up, but he would not leave the ship until he had attended to the spiritual needs of those who were about to die. When that was done, he sprang into the sea, swam to the boat, and was taken in.

At ten in the morning the ship was seen to go down. Early next day, the 22nd of March, the boat reached the coast of the territory now called Tongaland, which was then occupied by the Makomata tribe. Some sailors landed, and

found a kraal not far off, where they were treated in a friendly manner. The officers now resolved to proceed along the coast to the river of Lourenço Marques, but as the wind freshened they were unable to carry out that design in the boat, which would certainly have foundered. They therefore ran her ashore, and burned her to get nails to trade with, after which they set out to march overland. They were in all ninety-eight souls, and they had five guns with ammunition, as many swords, and a little food.

On their journey they encountered many Bantu, a few hostile, but the greater number friendly, and they were able to exchange their nails for hens, goats, fish, and bruised millet, so that they did not suffer much from hunger before their arrival at the kraal of the Inyaka chief, who was son and successor of Garcia de Sá. This chief treated them as well as he could, but his resources were insufficient for the maintenance of so many persons thrown thus suddenly upon him. He therefore proposed that they should take up their abode on Elephant Island, then called Setimuro, where he would send them as much food as he could collect until the arrival of the trading vessel from Mozambique in the following year. The one of this season had sailed only a few days before.

The wrecked people fell in with this proposal, and were conducted to Elephant Island, which was uninhabited. It was on that account used as their principal station by the Portuguese ivory traders when they visited the bay. The huts which they had put up provided accommodation for the castaways, and they had left there two large boats that could be turned to account. The want of food, which the Inyaka could not supply in sufficient quantity, here after a short time became so pressing that the party resolved to attempt to push on to Sofala as their only hope of life.

On the 18th of April sixty of them set out in the two boats for the northern shore of the bay, after arranging that a few sailors should return for the others, thirty-six

in number, who were left behind. One of the boats safely reached the mouth of the Manisa, where its crew were informed that at the kraal of the chief, twelve leagues up the stream, there were some Portuguese. They therefore went up the river, and found Jeronymo Leitão, the master of the trading vessel that had left Elephant Island about a month before, with his companions. He informed them that he had put into the Limpopo, where he had been robbed of his vessel and cargo, and had then travelled overland to the kraal of Manisa, who had treated him kindly. The chief received the people of the boat in a friendly manner, and provided for their wants.

The other boat got into the surf, and was run ashore near the mouth of the Limpopo, where she was of necessity abandoned. Her crew then set out to march northward. Most of the inhabitants on the way gave them assistance, but their sufferings were so great from hunger, thirst, fatigue, and fever, that nearly half of them perished. The survivors passed through Gamba's country and Inhambane, and a little farther on found a Portuguese trader with a boat. He took them across to the island of Bazaruta, which was then occupied by Arabs of mixed blood, who treated them very well. There was also a native of Sofala living on the island, and this man procured a small vessel, in which they completed their journey to the Portuguese station, where their troubles ended.

Meantime fever attacked the Europeans at Manisa's kraal and those left on Elephant Island, so that it was some time before the latter could be taken across to their friends. Manisa was able to provide them all with food, so they did not attempt to go farther. Jeronymo Leitão, who was accustomed to deal with Bantu, had sent messengers overland to Sofala, to inform the captain there of what had occurred. That officer, on receiving the intelligence, at once sent a small pangayo laden with necessary articles, and as at that season of the year she could not sail to the river Manisa, her cargo was landed

at Inhambane and then forwarded overland by Bantu carriers. Before this assistance arrived, Dom Paul de Lima, Bernardim de Carvalho, and many other males of the party had died, but the three ladies were still living. They remained at Manisa's kraal until the change of the monsoon permitted a pangayo to be sent for them, in which they went to Mozambique, and there embarked in a ship bound to Goa.

On the 21st of January 1593 the ship *Santo Alberto* sailed from Cochin for Lisbon. She was commanded by the captain Julião de Faria Cerveira, and had as pilot a man of experience named Rodrigo MIGUELS. Among those on board were Dona Isabella Pereira, daughter of Francisco Pereira, an officer at Goa, and widow of Diogo de Mello Coutinho, who had been captain of Ceylon, Dona Luiza, daughter of that lady, a girl sixteen years of age, Nuno Velho Pereira, recently captain of Mozambique, and two friars. There were many other passengers, some of them gentlemen of position.

In latitude 10° S. the ship sprang a leak, and could not afterwards be freed of water. On the 21st of March the African coast was in sight, in latitude 31½° according to observations with the astrolabe, and here the leak increased greatly. The ship was lightened as much as possible, the pumps were kept constantly at work, and baling was resorted to, but the water in the hold continued to rise. In order therefore to save the lives of those on board, as there was no hope of being able to keep afloat much longer, the *Santo Alberto* was run ashore. Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March she struck about three or four hundred metres from the beach. One hundred and twenty-five Portuguese, including the two ladies, and one hundred and sixty slaves got safely to land, and twenty-eight Portuguese and thirty-four slaves were drowned.

Fortunately a quantity of stores of different kinds, arms, ammunition, bales of calico, pieces of metal, beads, an astrolabe, some writing paper, and other articles were saved

from the wreck. The pilot believed the latitude of the place to be $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ S., but that was certainly an error, because there was only one large river between it and the Umzimvubu, and if it had been correct the Bashee and the Umtata must have been crossed. The Portuguese maps were still so defective that the position of all but very prominent places upon them was uncertain. The wrecked crew of the *Santo Alberto* believed the remarkable rock now known as the Hole in the Wall, close to which they were, to be the Penedo das Fontes of Dias, and the first river beyond, which was the Umtata of our day, to be the Rio de Infante of that explorer. From this time onward until their arrival at Delagoa Bay, to which place they resolved to proceed, the pilot kept a journal, in which he noted the distances travelled, the direction, occasionally the latitude, particulars concerning barter, observations upon the inhabitants, and other matters of interest. Many Bantu words given in this journal are easily made out, and from the observations recorded the route of the party from the scene of the wreck to the shore of Delagoa Bay can be laid down nearly—if not quite—accurately on a modern map.*

The wrecked people commenced their journey from the streamlet Mpako, about sixteen kilometres west of the mouth of the Umtata. The great rock, which then, according to the journal, bore the name Tizombe, is now called Zikali. Nuno Velho Pereira, being a man of rank and experience, was elected leader, and Antonio Godinho, who had for a long time traded at stations in the Zambesi valley, took charge of the barter, on which the very lives of the travellers depended. Arrangements were made for the journey similar to those of a trading caravan. Calico, beads, and pieces of metal were done up in packs to be

* I am indebted for assistance in tracing this route to Walter Stanford, Esquire, C.M.G., recently chief magistrate of Griqualand East. This gentleman is thoroughly acquainted with the territory, which I have not had an opportunity of examining.

carried by the slaves, and the arms and provisions were borne by the Portuguese.

While these preparations were in progress, on the 27th of March a chief with sixty followers made his appearance. His name, as recorded, was Luspace. Calling out Nanhata! Nanhata! in a friendly tone, the band came forward, when the chief presented two large sheep with heavy tails like those of Ormus. Among the slaves was one who could make himself understood by Luspace, and who spoke also the language of the Bantu of Mozambique. Another slave spoke the last-named language and also Portuguese, so that through two intermediary interpreters the Europeans could make their wants known. And throughout one of the most remarkable journeys ever made in South Africa slaves of the party could always converse with the inhabitants, a circumstance which tended greatly towards the safety of them all.

Luspace is described as a man of good stature, light in colour, of a cheerful countenance, and about forty-five years of age. He and his people wore karosses of ox hide made soft by rubbing and greasing, and they had sandals on their feet. They could run with great speed. In their hands they carried sticks with jackals' tails attached to them, and the chief had as an ornament a piece of copper suspended from his left ear. They were husbandmen and graziers. Their grain was millet of the size of peppercorns, which was ground between two stones, and of which they also made beer. Their wealth consisted of cattle, whose milk was one of their ordinary articles of diet. Their huts were round and low, were covered with reed mats, and were not proof against rain. They had pots made of clay, used assagais in war and the chase, and kept dogs. They were without any form of worship, but were circumcised, as were nearly all the males south of the twenty-ninth parallel of latitude. They were very sensual, each man having as many wives as he chose. Gold and silver were esteemed by them as of little value, but for

very small pieces of iron or copper they were willing to sell oxen or sheep. Their language was a dialect of that in use by all the people of Kaffraria, and their chief, like the petty rulers in the country to the north, was termed an inkosi.

From this description it is evident that Luspace's clan was of mixed Bantu and Hottentot blood, the former, however, being greater in quantity than the latter, and that in 1593 the condition of things along the Umtata was similar to that along the Fish river two centuries later, when the incorporation of the Gonaquas in the Xosa tribe had recently taken place.

On the 3rd of April the travellers commenced their march. Luspace sold them two cows and two sheep, and went with them himself as a guide as far as the Umtata. A negro boy, one of whose legs had been broken in getting to land, was left behind with the friendly people. On the afternoon of the next day they crossed the Umtata, which they believed to be the Infante, and then Luspace bade them farewell, after directing a guide whose name is given as Inhancosa—(evidently Nyana wenkosi, *i.e.* son of the chief)—to conduct them onward.

On the 5th they obtained eight cows in barter, on the 7th they passed a field of millet, of which they purchased some, and on the 9th they reached a little kraal that was in possession of a hundred head of horned cattle and a hundred and twenty sheep of the large-tailed breed. The chief presented calabashes of milk, and sold them four cows for pieces of copper worth as many pence. A little farther on they reached a kraal under a chief named Ubabu, who was a brother of their guide. He was a man of middling stature, not very black in colour, with an open cheerful countenance. He entertained the strangers with a dance, in which about sixty men took part, the women clapping their hands and singing in time. Though Ubabu had about two hundred head of large cattle and as many sheep, he would not part with any except at prices which

the Portuguese regarded as extortionate, but he was very pleased to accept of the presents they made him.

Soon after leaving his kraal some people were seen with beads of Indian manufacture hanging from their ears, which the journalist conjectured must have been brought down from the trading station at Delagoa Bay, though it is much more likely that they were obtained from the wreck of the *São João* or the *São Bento*. Progress was slow, often little more than four or five kilometres in a day being covered, but on the 14th the caravan reached the Umzimvubu at the ford now known as the Etyeni, where the passage of the stream was safely made.

After crossing this river, the largest in Kaffraria, the tone of the journal changes. The travellers found themselves now in a more thickly populated country, and the inhabitants were blacker in colour. They had not proceeded far when a chief named Vibo, who was much more powerful than any they had seen before, and who is described as being very black and about eighty years of age, came to meet them. After that chiefs in possession of kraals of considerable size were found at intervals along their whole line of march, except when they were on the high plateau from which rises the Drakensberg. They had no difficulty in purchasing as many horned cattle, sheep, hens, gourds, and millet cakes, and as much millet and milk as they needed. For the millet cakes, probably on account of their being so different from European bread, they used the Bantu name *isinkwa*, which the journalist wrote *sincoa*. The gleeful exclamation *Halala! Halala!* they mistook for a form of greeting, but they were correct in believing that the word *manga* (properly *isimanga*) referred to the sea, though literally it means a wonder.

They passed over the high ground behind the present mission station Palmerton, along by the Ingele mountain, which they called Moxangala, and on the 3rd of May saw the Drakensberg to the northward and north-eastward covered with snow. This part of the country, being too

cold in the winter season to be pleasant for Bantu, they found uninhabited. Turning now towards the lowlands, on the 13th of May they crossed a beautiful river which they called the Mutangalo, the Umzimkulu of our day.

The present province of Natal they found thickly peopled. By this time they were inured to travel, the weather was in all respects favourable, and they could usually obtain competent guides, so they made much longer stages than at first. It took them only sixteen days to go over the ground from the Umzimkulu to the Tugela—the Uchugel they termed it,—which stream they crossed on the 29th of May.

Continuing at this rapid rate, they reached Delagoa Bay on the 30th of June, having marched as they computed three hundred leagues in eighty-eight days. From the Mpako to the Espirito Santo a straight line measures only one hundred and fifty leagues, but they thought the various turns in the footpaths had doubled that distance. They had nineteen head of cattle when they reached the bay. On the journey they had been compelled to abandon nine Europeans who were worn out with sickness and fatigue, and they lost ninety-five slaves, mostly by desertion. This wonderful success was due to its being the best time of the year for travelling, to their being so strong and so well armed that no one dared to attack them, to their being provided with means to purchase food, and to their having slaves who could make themselves understood by the Bantu along the route.

At Delagoa Bay they found the trading vessel *Nossa Senhora da Salvação* nearly ready to return to Mozambique. She was not large enough to contain them all, but her mixed-breed Moslem sailors, who had their wives with them, consented for liberal payment to remain behind, and thus she was lightened of forty-five individuals. It was the custom of these people, instead of receiving wages, to be allowed to trade in millet, honey, and anything else except ivory or ambergris on their own account, and

therefore they would have little difficulty in providing for themselves on shore. From them the chief captain purchased an ample supply of millet for food on the passage. Twenty-eight Portuguese soldiers and sailors resolved to travel overland to Sofala, but only two of this party reached their destination; the others perished on the way in conflicts brought on by their own misconduct. Eighty-eight Portuguese, including the two ladies, and sixty-four slaves embarked in the trading vessel, which sailed on the 22nd of July, and reached Mozambique in safety on the 6th of August.

In all the region traversed by the crews of these wrecked ships not a single tribe is mentioned of the same name as any now existing. The people were all Bantu as far south as the Umzimvubu, spoke dialects of the same language, had the same customs, but were not grouped as at present. South of the Umzimvubu there was a mixture of Bantu and Hottentot blood, but how far the former extended in this diluted form cannot be ascertained. Probably not far, as the country was very sparsely populated. It is noticeable also that the whole of the high plateau from which the Drakensberg rises was without inhabitants at least as far north as the present province of Natal.

It would serve no useful purpose to give the names of the tribes about Delagoa Bay and farther northward, as placed on record by the Portuguese writers, for even if those names were accurate at the time, the communities that bore them have long since ceased to exist, and never did anything to merit a place in history. Along the coast south of Delagoa Bay only four tribes of importance are mentioned. The first was that of the Inyaka, occupying the island now known by that name and the territory between the Maputa river and the sea. Joining them on the south were the Makomata, under a chief called Viragune by the Portuguese, whose kraals were scattered over the country from the coast a hundred and forty kilometres inland. Then came

the Makalapapa, who lived about the Saint Lucia lagoon. South of them was a tribe termed the Vambe by the Portuguese, which was almost certainly connected with the great Abambo horde that in 1570 made its appearance on the Zambesi. Judging from what occurred in the early years of the nineteenth century, it is most likely that a section of that horde, moving in advance of the main body, crossed the great river some time about or perhaps before 1550, and made its way to the eastern coast below the part previously occupied by Bantu. It was probably composed of a mixture of conquerors and of individuals incorporated from clans vanquished and destroyed in its march, in this respect resembling the Matabele of the present day. This, however, is not absolutely certain, but there seems to be no other way of accounting for the fact that the language, customs, and siboko (isibongo in their dialect) of these people and of all the other Bantu south of Saint Lucia Bay are identical with those of the invaders who arrived and settled there at a little later date.

All the paramount chiefs of these tribes were termed kings by the Portuguese, and the territories in which they lived were described as kingdoms. In the same way the heads of kraals were designated nobles. Phraseology of this kind, so liable to lead readers into error, ended, however, with the so-called Vambe kingdom, as farther south there were no tribes of any importance, no chiefs with more than three or four kraals under their control, and to these a high-sounding title could not be given. The Pondo, Pondomsi, Tembu, and Xosa tribes of our day were either not yet in existence as separate communities, or were little insignificant clans too feeble to attract notice.

CHAPTER XV.

APPEARANCE OF RIVALS IN THE EASTERN SEAS.

THE debt which the world owes to the Portuguese for weakening the Mohamedan power and thus preventing the subjugation of a larger portion of Eastern Europe than was actually overrun by the Turks should not be forgotten, but long before the close of the sixteenth century they had ceased to be participants in the great progressive movement of the Caucasian race. Upon a conquering nation rests an enormous responsibility: no smaller than that of benefiting the world at large. Was Portugal doing this in her eastern possessions to such an extent as to make her displacement there a matter deserving universal regret? Probably her own people would reply that she was, for every nation regards its own acts as better than those of others; but beyond her borders the answer unquestionably would be that she was not. Rapacity, cruelty, corruption, have all been laid to her charge at this period, and not without sufficient reason. But apart from these vices, her weakness under the Castilian kings was such that she was incapable of doing any good. When an individual is too infirm and decrepit to manage his affairs, a robust man takes his place, and so it is with States. The weak one may cry out that might is not right, but such a cry finds a very feeble echo. India was not held by the Portuguese under the only inde-feasible tenure: that of making the best use of it; and thus it could be seized by a stronger power without Christian nations feeling that a wrong was being done.

Before recounting in brief the commencement of the Dutch conquests, a glance may be given to the acts of other

nations, and especially to those of our own countrymen, in the eastern seas at an earlier date.

The French were the first to follow the Portuguese round the Cape of Good Hope to India. As early as 1507 a corsair of that nation, named Mondragon, made his appearance in the Mozambique channel* with two armed vessels, and plundered a ship under command of Job Queimado. He also captured and robbed another Indiaman nearer home. On the 18th of January 1509 a fleet commanded by Duarte Pacheco fell in with him off Cape Finisterre, and after a warm engagement sank one of his ships and captured the other. Mondragon was taken a prisoner to Lisbon, where he found means of making his peace with the king, and he was then permitted to return to France.

Twenty years later three ships, fitted out by a merchant named Jean Ango, sailed from Dieppe for India. The accounts of this expedition are so conflicting that it is impossible to relate the occurrences attending it with absolute accuracy. It is certain, however, that one of the ships never reached her destination. Another was wrecked on the coast of Sumatra, where her crew were all murdered. The third reached Diu in July 1527. She had a crew of forty Frenchmen, but was commanded by a Portuguese named Estevão Dias, nicknamed Brigas, who had fled from his native country on account of misdeeds committed there, and had taken service with the strangers. The ruler of Diu regarded this ship with great hostility, and as he was unable to seize her openly, he practised deceit to get her crew within his power. Professing friendship, he gave Dias permission to trade in his territory, but took advantage of the first opportunity to arrest him and his crew. They were handed over as captives to the paramount Mohamedan ruler, and were obliged to embrace his creed to preserve their

*The particulars of this event cannot be ascertained, and it would even be doubtful whether Mondragon really rounded the Cape of Good Hope if it were not expressly stated in a summary of the directions issued by the king for his capture, that it took place "no canal de Moçambique."

lives. They were then taken into his service and remained in India.

Early in 1529 two ships commanded by Jean and Raoul Parmentier, fitted out partly by Jean Ango, partly by merchants of Rouen, sailed from Dieppe. In October of the same year they reached Sumatra, but on account of great loss of life from sickness, on the 22nd of January 1530 they turned homeward. As they avoided the Portuguese settlements, nothing was known at Goa of their proceedings except what was told by a sailor who was left behind at Madagascar and was afterwards found there. This expedition was almost as unsuccessful as the preceding one. On their return passage the ships were greatly damaged in violent storms, and they reached Europe with difficulty.

From that time until 1601 there is no trace of a French vessel having passed the Cape of Good Hope. In May of this year the *Corbin* and *Croissant*, two ships fitted out by some merchants of Laval and Vitré, sailed from St. Malo. They reached the Maldives safely, but there the *Corbin* was lost in July 1602, and her commander was unable to return to France until ten years had gone by. The *Croissant* was lost on the Spanish coast on her homeward passage.

On the 1st of June 1604 a French East India Company was established on paper, but it did not get further. In 1615 it was reorganised, and in 1617 the first successful expedition to India under the French flag sailed from a port in Normandy. From that date onward ships of this nation were frequently seen in the eastern seas. But the French made no attempt to form a settlement in South Africa, and their only connection with this country was that towards the middle of the seventeenth century a vessel was sent occasionally from Rochelle to collect a cargo of sealskins and oil at the islands in and near the present Saldanha Bay.

The English were the next to appear in Indian waters. A few individuals of this nation may have served in Portuguese ships, and among the missionaries, especially of the

Company of Jesus, who went out to convert the heathen, it is not unlikely that there were several. One at least, Thomas Stephens by name, was rector of the Jesuit college at Salsette. A letter written by him from Goa in 1579, and printed in the second volume of Hakluyt's work, is the earliest account extant of an English voyager to that part of the world.* It contains no information of importance.

The famous sea captain Francis Drake, of Tavistock in Devon, sailed from Plymouth on the 13th of December 1577, with the intention of exploring the Pacific ocean. His fleet consisted of five vessels, carrying in all one hundred and sixty-four men. His own ship, named the *Pelican*, was of one hundred and twenty tons burden. The others were the *Elizabeth*, eighty tons, the *Marigold*, thirty tons, a pinnace of twelve tons, and a storeship of fifty tons burden. The last named was set on fire as soon as her cargo was transferred to the others, the pinnace was abandoned, the *Marigold* was lost in a storm, the *Elizabeth*, after reaching the Pacific, turned back through the straits of Magellan, and the *Pelican* alone continued the voyage. She was the first English ship that sailed round the world. Captain Drake reached England again on the 3rd of November 1580, and soon afterwards was made a knight by Queen Elizabeth on board his ship. The *Pelican* did not touch at any part of the

* I do not mention Sir John Mandeville in the text, because modern criticism has proved that what he states concerning India in his book *The Voiage and trauayle of syr Iohn Maundeuille, knight, which treateth of the way toward Hierusalem, and of maruayles of Inde, with other Ilands and Countryes* was compiled from earlier foreign writers, though his work was regarded as genuine and trustworthy by Englishmen until recently. Nothing is known of him from contemporary records, and it is even regarded as possible that Mandeville was a pseudonym. In his book he states that he was born at St. Albans, and travelled in the east as far as China between the years 1322 and 1357. It is now believed that he really visited Palestine, and his account of that country is considered as partly based on personal observation, but the remainder of the volume is spurious. The original was written in French. See the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, article Mandeville. Of the numerous copies of the book, in many languages, in the library of the British Museum, the earliest was printed in 1480.

South African coast, but there is the following paragraph in the account of the voyage:—

“We ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portuguese to be most false, who affirm that it is the most dangerous cape of the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers who come near the same. This cape is a most stately thing, and the fairest cape we saw in the whole circumference of the earth, and we passed by it on the 18th of June.”

In 1583 four English traders in precious stones, acting partly on their own account and partly as agents for merchants in London, made their way by the Tigris and the Persian gulf to Ormuz, where at that time people of various nationalities were engaged in commerce. John Newbery, the leader of the party, had been there before. The others were named Ralph Fitch, William Leades, and James Story. Shortly after their arrival at Ormuz they were arrested by the Portuguese authorities on the double charge of being heretics and spies of the prior Dom Antonio, who was a claimant to the throne of Portugal, and under these pretences they were sent prisoners to Goa. There they managed to clear themselves of the first of the charges, Story entered a convent, and the others, on finding bail not to leave the city, were set at liberty in December 1584, mainly through the instrumentality of the Jesuit father Stephens and Jan Huyghen van Linschoten, of whom more will be related in the following pages. Four months afterwards, being in fear of ill-treatment, they managed to make their escape from Goa. After a time they separated, and Fitch went on a tour through India, visiting many places before his return to England in 1591. An account of his travels is extant in Hakluyt's collection, but there is not much information in it, and it had no effect upon subsequent events.

Thomas Cavendish sailed from Plymouth on the 21st of July 1586, with three ships—the *Desire*, of one hundred and twenty tons, the *Content*, of sixty tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, of forty tons—carrying in all one hundred and twenty-three

souls. After sailing round the globe, he arrived again in Plymouth on the 9th of September 1588, having passed the Cape of Good Hope on the 16th of May.

The first English ships that put into a harbour on the South African coast were the *Penelope*, *Merchant Royal*, and *Edward Bonaventure*, which sailed from Plymouth for India on the 10th of April 1591, under command of Admiral George Raymond. This fleet put into the watering place of Saldanha at the end of July. The crews, who were suffering from scurvy, were at once sent on shore, where they obtained fresh food by shooting wild fowl and gathering mussels and other shell-fish along the rocky beach. Some inhabitants had been seen when the ships sailed in, but they appeared terrified, and at once moved inland. Admiral Raymond visited Robben Island, where he found seals and penguins in great numbers. One day some hunters caught a Hottentot, whom they treated kindly, making him many presents and endeavouring to show him by signs that they were in want of cattle. They then let him go, and eight days afterwards he returned with thirty or forty others, bringing forty oxen and as many sheep. Trade was at once commenced, the price of an ox being two knives, that of a sheep one knife. So many men had died of scurvy that it was considered advisable to send the *Merchant Royal* back to England weak handed. The *Penelope*, with one hundred and one men, and the *Edward Bonaventure*, with ninety-seven men, sailed for India on the 8th of September. On the 12th a gale was encountered, and that night those in the *Edward Bonaventure*, whereof was captain James Lancaster—who was afterwards famous as an advocate of Arctic exploration, and whose name was given by Bylot and Baffin to the sound which terminated their discoveries in 1616—saw a great sea break over the admiral's ship, which put out her lights. After that she was never seen or heard of again.

The appearance of these rivals in the Indian seas caused much concern in Spain and Portugal. There was as yet no apprehension of the loss of the sources of the spice trade,

but it was regarded as probable that English ships would lie in wait at St. Helena for richly laden vessels homeward bound, so in 1591 and again in 1593 the king directed the viceroy to instruct the captains not to touch at that island.

It was not by Englishmen, however, though they visited India at this early period, but by the Dutch, that the Portuguese power in the East was overthrown. That power was like a great bubble, but it required pricking to make it burst, and our countrymen did not often come in contact with it. Sir Francis Drake indeed, who was utterly fearless, went wherever he chose, and opened fire upon all who attempted to interfere with him, but his successors, whose object was profit in trade, were naturally more cautious. The Indies were large, and so they avoided the Portuguese fortresses, and did what business they could with native rulers and people.

The merchants of the Netherlands had been accustomed to obtain at Lisbon the supplies of Indian products which they required for home consumption and for the large European trade which they carried on, but after 1580, when Portugal came under the dominion of Philippe II of Spain, they were shut out of that market. They then determined to open up direct communication with the East, and for that purpose made several gallant but fruitless efforts to find a passage along the northern shores of Europe and Asia. When the first of these had failed, and while the result of the second was still unknown, some merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a fleet of four vessels which in the year 1595 sailed to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope. Before this date, however, a few Netherlands had visited the eastern seas in the Portuguese service, and among them was one in particular whose writings had great influence at that period and for more than half a century afterwards.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten was born at Haarlem, in the province of Holland. He received a good general education, but from an early age he gave himself up with

ardour to the special study of geography and history, and eagerly read such books of travel as were within his reach. In 1579 he obtained permission from his parents, who were then residing at Enkhuizen, to proceed to Seville, where his two elder brothers were pushing their fortunes. He was at Seville when the cardinal king Henrique of Portugal died, leaving the succession to the throne in dispute. The duke of Alva with a strong Spanish army won it for his master, and shortly afterwards Linschoten removed to Lisbon, where he was a clerk in a merchant's office when Philippe made his triumphal entry and when Alva died.

Two years later he entered the service of a Dominican friar, by name Vicente da Fonseca, who had been appointed by Philippe primate of India, the see of Goa having been raised to an archbishopric in 1557. In April 1583, with his employer he sailed from Lisbon, and after touching at Mozambique—where he remained from the 5th to the 20th of August, diligently seeking information on that part of the world—he arrived at Goa in September of the same year. He remained in India until January 1589. When returning to Europe in the ship *Santa Cruz* from Cochin, he passed through a quantity of wreckage from the ill-fated *São Thomé*, which had sailed from the same port five days before he left, and he visited several islands in the Atlantic, at one of which—Terceira—he was detained a long time. He reached Lisbon again in January 1592, and eight months later rejoined his family at Enkhuizen, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. From this date his name is inseparably connected with those of the gallant spirits who braved the perils of the polar seas in the effort to find a north-eastern passage to China.

Early in 1595 the first of Linschoten's books was published, in which an account is given of the sailing directions followed by the Portuguese in their navigation of the eastern waters, drawn from the treatises of their most experienced pilots. This work shows the highest

knowledge of navigation that Europeans had then acquired. They had still no better instrument for determining latitudes than the astrolabe and the cross staff, and no means whatever for ascertaining longitudes. The vicinity of the Cape of Good Hope was known by the appearance of sea-birds called Cape pigeons and the great drifting plants that are yet to be seen any day on the shores of the Cape peninsula. The different kinds of ground that adhered to the tallow of the sounding leads to some extent indicated the position, as did also the variation of the magnetic needle, but whether a ship was fifty or a hundred nautical miles from any given point could not be ascertained by either of these means. When close to the shore, however, the position was known by the appearance of the land, the form of the hills and mountains, and the patches of sand and thicket, all of which had been carefully delineated and laid down in the sailing directions.

Linschoten's first book was followed in 1596 by a description of the Indies, and by several geographical treatises drawn from Portuguese sources, all profusely illustrated with maps and plates. Of Mozambique an ample account was given from personal observation and inquiry. Dom Pedro de Castro had just been succeeded as captain by Nuno Velho Pereira, who informed the archbishop that in his three years term of office he would realise a fortune of about nine tons of gold, or £75,000 sterling, derived chiefly from the trade in the precious metal carried on at Sofala and in the territory of the monomotapa. Fort São Sebastião had then no other garrison than the servants and attendants of the captain, in addition to whom there were only forty or at most fifty Portuguese and half-breed male residents on the island capable of assisting in its defence. There were three or four hundred huts occupied by negroes, some of whom were professed Christians, others Mohamedans, and still others heathens. The exports to India were gold, ivory, ambergris, ebony, and slaves. African slaves, being much stronger in body than the natives of Hindostan, were used to perform

the hardest and coarsest work in the eastern possessions of Portugal, and—though Linschoten does not state this—they were employed in considerable numbers in the trading ships to relieve the European seamen from the heavy labour of pumping, hauling, stowing and unstowing cargo, cleansing, and so forth. These slaves were chiefly procured from the lands to the northward, and very few, if any of them, were obtained in the country south of the Zambesi.

It serves to show how carefully and minutely Linschoten elicited information at Mozambique, that he mentions a harbour on the coast which is not named by any of the Portuguese writers of the time except Dos Santos, whose book was not then published, and who only refers to it incidentally, though it is now known to be the best port between Inhambane and the Zambesi. This is Beira, as at present termed, then known to the sailors of the pangayos that traded to the southward as Porto Bango. Linschoten gives its latitude as $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, half a degree north of Sofala. He mentions also Delagoa Bay, that is the present Algoa Bay, and gives its latitude as $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. He describes the monsoons of the Indian ocean, and states that ships from Portugal availed themselves of these periodical winds by waiting at Mozambique until the 1st of August, and never leaving after the middle of September, thus securing a safe and easy passage to the coast of Hindostan.

He frequently refers to the gold of Sofala and the country of the monomotapa, of which he had heard just such reports as Vasco da Gama had eagerly listened to eighty-six years before. Yet he did not magnify the importance of these rumours as the Portuguese had done, though it was mainly from his writings that his countrymen became possessed of that spirit of cupidity which induced them a few years later to make strenuous efforts to become masters of South-Eastern Africa.

Linschoten's treatises were collected and published in a single large volume, and the work was at once received as a text-book, a position which its merits entitled it to occupy.

The most defective portion of the whole is that referring to South Africa: and for this reason, that it was then impossible to get any correct information about the interior of the continent below the Zambesi west of the part frequented by the Portuguese. Linschoten himself saw no more of it than a fleeting glimpse of False Cape afforded on his outward passage, and his description was of necessity based upon the faulty maps of the geographers of his time, so that it was full of errors. But his account of India and of the way to reach its several ports was so correct that it could serve the purpose of a guide-book, and his treatise on the mode of navigation by the Portuguese was thus used by the commander of the first Dutch fleet that appeared in the eastern seas.

The four vessels which left Texel on the 2nd of April 1595 were under the general direction of an officer named Cornelis Houtman. In the afternoon of the 2nd of August the Cape of Good Hope was seen, and next day, after passing Agulhas, the fleet kept close to the land, the little *Duifke* sailing in front and looking for a harbour. On the 4th the bay called by the Portuguese Agoada de São Bras was discovered, and as the *Duifke* found good holding ground in nine or ten fathoms of water, the *Mauritius*, *Hollandia*, and *Amsterdam* entered and dropped their anchors.

Here the fleet remained until the 11th, when sail was again set for the East. During the interval a supply of fresh water was taken in, and some oxen and sheep were purchased from the inhabitants for knives, old tools, and pieces of iron. The Europeans were surprised to find the sheep covered with hair instead of wool, and with enormous tails of pure fat. No women or habitations were seen. The appearance of the Hottentots, their clothing, their assagais, their method of making a fire by twirling a piece of wood rapidly round in the socket of another piece, their filthiness in eating, and the clicking of their language, are all correctly described; but it was surmised that they were cannibals, because they were

observed to eat the half-raw intestines of animals, and a fable commonly believed in Europe was repeated concerning their mutilation in a peculiar manner of the bodies of conquered enemies. The intercourse with the few Hottentots seen was friendly, though at times each suspected the other of evil intentions.

A chart of the inlet was made,* from which it is seen to be the one now called Mossel Bay. A little island in it was covered with seals and penguins, some of each of which were killed and eaten. The variation of the compass was observed to be so trifling that the needle might be said to point to the north.

From the watering place of São Bras Houtman continued his voyage to India, but it is not necessary to relate occurrences there. After his return to Europe several companies were formed in different towns of the Netherlands, with the object of trading to the East and wresting from the Portuguese that wealth which they were then too feeble to guard.

In the *Leeuw*, one of the ships sent out in 1598, and which put into the watering place of Saldanha for refreshment, the famous English seaman John Davis was chief pilot. He wrote an account of the voyage, in which he states that the Hottentots in Table Valley fell by surprise upon the men who were ashore bartering cattle, and killed thirteen of them. In his narrative Davis says that at Cape Agulhas the magnetic needle was without variation, but in his sailing directions, written after another voyage to India, he says: "At False Cape there is no variation that I can find by observing south from it. The variation of Cape Agulhas is thirty minutes from north to west. And at the Cape of Good Hope the compass is varied from north to east five and twenty minutes."

*It is attached to the original journals, now in the archives of the Netherlands. I made a copy of it on tracing linen for the Cape government, as it differs considerably from the chart in the printed condensed journal of the voyage. In other respects also the compilation of the printed journal has been very carelessly executed.

No fresh discoveries on the African coast were made by any of the fleets sent out at this time, but to some of the bays new names were given.

In December 1599 four ships fitted out by an association at Amsterdam calling itself the New Brabant Company sailed from Texel for the Indies, under command of Pieter Both. Two of them returned early in 1601, leaving the *Vereenigde Landen* and the *Hof van Holland* under charge of Paulus van Caerden to follow as soon as they could obtain cargoes. On the 8th of July 1601 Van Caerden put into the watering place of São Bras on the South African coast, for the purpose of repairing one of his ships which was in a leaky condition. The commander, with twenty soldiers, went a short distance inland to endeavour to find people from whom he could obtain some cattle, but though he came across a party of eight individuals he did not succeed in getting any oxen or sheep. A supply of fresh water was taken in, but no refreshment except mussels could be procured, on account of which Van Caerden gave the inlet the name Mossel Bay, which it has ever since retained.

On the 14th the *Hof van Holland* having been repaired, the two ships sailed, but two days later, as they were making no progress against a head wind, they put into another bay. Here some Hottentots were found, from whom the voyagers obtained for pieces of iron as many horned cattle and sheep as they could consume fresh or had salt to preserve. For this reason the commander gave it the name Flesh Bay.

On the 21st sail was set, but the *Hof van Holland* being found leaky again, on the 23rd another bay was entered, where her damages were repaired. On account of a westerly gale the ships were detained here until the 30th, when they sailed, but finding the wind contrary outside, they returned to anchor. No inhabitants were seen, but the commander visited a river near by, where he encountered a party from whom he obtained five sheep in exchange for bits of iron. In the river were numerous hippopotami.

Abundance of fine fish having been secured here, the commander gave the inlet the name Fish Bay.

On the 2nd of August the ships sailed, and on the 27th passed the Cape of Good Hope, to the great joy of all on board, who had begun to fear that they would be obliged to seek a port on the eastern side to winter in.

On the 5th of May 1601 a fleet of three vessels, named the *Ram*, the *Schaap*, and the *Lam*, sailed for the Indies from Vere in Zeeland, under command of Joris van Spilbergen. On the 15th of November the fleet put into St. Helena Bay, where no inhabitants were seen, though many fires were observed inland. The only refreshment procurable was fish, which were caught in great quantities.

On the 20th Spilbergen sailed from St. Helena Bay, and beating against a head wind, on the evening of the 28th he anchored off an island, to which he gave the name Elizabeth. Four years later Sir Edward Michelburne termed it Cony Island, which name, under the Dutch form of Dassen, it still bears. Seals in great numbers, sea-birds of different kinds, and conies were found. At this place he remained only twenty-four hours. On the 2nd of December he cast anchor close to another island, which he named Cornelia. It was the Robben island of the present day. Here were found seals and penguins in great numbers, but no conies. The next day at noon Spilbergen reached the watering place of Saldanha, the anchorage in front of Table Mountain, and gave it the name Table Bay, which it still bears.

The sick were conveyed to land, where a hospital was established. A few inhabitants were met, to whom presents of beads were made, and who were understood to make signs that they would bring cattle for sale, but they went away and did not return. Abundance of fish was obtained with a seine at the mouth of a stream which Spilbergen named the Jacqueline, now Salt River; but, as meat was wanted, the smallest of the vessels was sent to Elizabeth Island, where a great number of penguins and conies were killed and salted in. The fleet remained in Table Bay until the 23rd of

December. When passing Cornelia Island, a couple of conies were set on shore, and seven or eight sheep, which had been left there by some previous voyagers, were shot, and their carcasses taken on board. Off the Cape of Good Hope the two French ships of which mention has been made were seen.

Spilbergen kept along the coast, noticing the formation of the land and the numerous streams falling into the sea, but was sorely hindered in his progress by the Agulhas current, which he found setting so strong to the south-westward that at times he could make no way against it even with the breeze in his favour. On the 17th of January 1602, owing to this cause, he stood off from the coast, and did not see it again.

The fleets sent out by the different small companies which had been formed in the chief towns of the Free Netherlands gained surprising successes over the Portuguese in India, but as they did not work in concert no permanent conquests could be made. For this reason, as well as to prevent rivalry and to conduct the Indian trade in a manner the most beneficial to the people of the whole republic, the states-general resolved to unite all the small trading associations in one great company with many privileges and large powers. The charter, or terms upon which the Company came into existence, was dated at the Hague on the 20th of March 1602, and contained forty-six clauses, the principal of which were as follow:—

All of the inhabitants of the United Netherlands had the right given to them to subscribe to the capital in as small or as large sums as they might choose, with this proviso, that if more money should be tendered than was needed, those applying for shares of over two thousand five hundred pounds sterling should receive less, so that the applicants for smaller shares might have allotted to them the full amounts asked for.

The chambers, or offices for the transaction of business, were to participate in the following proportion: that of

Amsterdam one-half, that of Middelburg in Zeeland one quarter, those of Delft and Rotterdam, otherwise called of the Maas, together one-eighth, and those of Hoorn and Enkhuizen, otherwise called those of the North Quarter or sometimes those of North Holland and West Friesland, together the remaining eighth.

The general directory was to consist of seventeen persons, eight of whom were to represent the chamber of Amsterdam, four that of Middelburg, two those of the Maas, two those of the North Quarter, and the seventeenth was to be chosen alternately by all of these except the chamber of Amsterdam. The place of meeting of the general directory was fixed at Amsterdam for six successive years, then at Middelburg for two years, then at Amsterdam again for six years, and so on.

The directors of each chamber were named in the charter, being the individuals who were the directors of the companies previously established in those towns, and it was provided that no others should be appointed until these should be reduced by death or resignation: in the chamber of Amsterdam to twenty persons, in that of Zeeland to twelve, and in those of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each to seven. After that, whenever a vacancy should occur, the remaining directors were to nominate three qualified individuals, of whom the states of the province in which the chamber was situated were to select one.

To qualify an individual to be a director in the chambers of the North Quarter it was necessary to own shares to the value of £250 sterling, and double that amount to be a director in any of the other chambers. The directors were to be bound by oath to be faithful in the administration of the duties entrusted to them, and not to favour a majority of the shareholders at the expense of a minority. Directors were prohibited from selling anything whatever to the Company without previously obtaining the sanction of the states provincial or the authorities of the city in which the chamber that they represented was situated.

All inhabitants of the United Provinces other than this Company were prohibited from trading beyond the Straits of Magellan, or to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the period of twenty-one years, for which the charter was granted, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. Within these limits the East India Company was empowered to enter into treaties and make contracts in the name of the states-general, to build fortresses, to appoint governors, military commanders, judges, and other necessary officers, who were all, however, to take oaths of fidelity to the states-general or high authorities of the Netherlands, who were not to be prevented from making complaints to the states-general, and whose appointments were to be reported to the states-general for confirmation.

For these privileges the Company was to pay £12,500 sterling, which amount the states-general subscribed towards the capital, for the profit and at the risk of the general government of the provinces. The capital was nominally furnished in the following proportions: Amsterdam one-half, Zeeland one-fourth, the Maas one-eighth, and the North Quarter one-eighth; but in reality it was contributed as under:—

					£	s.	d.
Amsterdam	...	...	...	...	307,202	10	0
Zeeland	...	...	...	...	106,304	10	0
The Maas	{ Delft	...	...	...	38,880	3	4
	{ Rotterdam	...	...	...	14,546	16	8
The North Quarter	{ Hoorn	...	...	...	22,369	3	4
	{ Enkhuizen	...	...	...	47,380	3	4
					<hr/>		
Total working capital	...	...	...	...	536,683	6	8
The share of the states-general	...	...	...	...	12,500	0	0
					<hr/>		
Total nominal capital	...	...	...	...	549,183	6	8

The capital was divided into shares of £250 sterling each. The shares, often sub-divided into fractions, were negotiable like any other property, and rose or fell in value according to the position of the Company at any time.

The advantage which the State derived from the establishment of this great association was apparent. The sums received in payment of import dues would have been contributed to an equal extent by individual traders. The amounts paid for the renewal of the charter—in 1647 the Company paid £133,333 6s. 8d. for its renewal for twenty-five years, and still larger sums were paid subsequently—might have been derived from trading licenses. The Company frequently aided the Republic with loans of large amount when the State was in temporary need, but loans could then have been raised in the modern method whenever necessary. Apart from these services, however, there was one supreme advantage gained by the creation of the East India Company which could not have been obtained from individual traders. A powerful navy was called into existence, great armed fleets working in unison and subject to the same control were always ready to assist the State. What must otherwise have been an element of weakness, a vast number of merchant ships scattered over the ocean and ready to fall a prey to an enemy's cruisers, was turned into a bulwark of strength.

In course of time several modifications took place in the constitution of the Company, and the different provinces as well as various cities were granted the privilege of having representatives in one or other of the chambers. Thus the provinces Gelderland, Utrecht, and Friesland, and the cities Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, and Gouda had each a representative in the chamber of Amsterdam; Groningen had a representative in the chamber of Zeeland; Overijssel one in the chamber of Delft, &c. The object of this was to make the Company represent the whole Republic.

Notwithstanding such regulations, however, the city of Amsterdam soon came to exercise an immoderate influence in the direction. In 1672 it was estimated that shares equal to three-fourths of the whole capital were owned there, and of the twenty-five directors of the local chamber, eighteen were chosen by the burgomasters of the city. Fortunately, the

charter secured to the other chambers a stated proportion of patronage and trade.

Such was the constitution of the Company which set itself the task of destroying the Portuguese power in the East and securing for itself the lucrative spice trade. It had no difficulty in obtaining as many men as were needed, for the German states—not then as now united in one great empire—formed an almost inexhaustible reservoir to draw soldiers from, and the Dutch fisheries, together with Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, furnished an adequate supply of excellent seamen. It sent out strong and well-armed fleets, capable of meeting any force the enemy had to oppose them, and of driving him from the open seas. The first of these fleets consisted of three large ships, commanded by Sebald de Weert, which sailed on the 31st of March 1602, and it was followed on the 17th of June of the same year by eleven large ships and a yacht, under command of Wybrand van Waerwyk.

The Company soon wrested from the Portuguese their choicest possessions in the East, though these were gallantly defended by such forces as could be raised, and in addition to its conquests it acquired other valuable territory from native owners. Its dividends to the shareholders were enormous, owing largely to the spoil captured by its fleets. In one year they rose to seventy-five per cent of the paid-up capital, and for upwards of a century they averaged above twenty per cent.

The Dutch fleets, both outward and homeward bound, usually put into Table Bay for the purpose of taking in water and obtaining oxen and sheep from the Hottentots. Sometimes no fresh meat was to be had, but as the tribes were constantly at feud with each other, whenever one managed to deprive its opponent of herds of horned cattle and flocks of sheep, it was ready to dispose of part of its spoil to strangers in exchange for such trifles as all barbarians set a high value upon. The Europeans did not know how the oxen and sheep that they were so pleased to

purchase were obtained by the vendors, but probably if they had been acquainted with all the circumstances, they would have had no scruples in securing what they wanted. It is from occurrences of a later date that the statement can be made that the Hottentots who brought to Table Valley hundreds of sheep and scores of oxen at a time, to barter for bits of iron hoop or pieces of copper, obtained those animals by the simple means of taking them from weaker communities.

In the journals of some of those fleets that put into Table Bay* matters of interest may occasionally be found, though, except from casual remarks, nothing concerning the inner life of the barbarous people met with is contained in them. The writers of those journals were not here long enough to make the necessary researches, nor had they the slightest knowledge of the language of the Hottentots. All intercourse with them was carried on by means of signs, so that nothing beyond such habits as were observable to the eye could be ascertained.

One of the most famous of the Dutch commanders in the East was Cornelis Matelief, who sailed from Holland for India on the 12th of May 1605 with a fleet of eleven ships. It was he who tried to follow the example of Affonso d'Albuquerque by giving his soldiers and sailors at Amboina leave to marry native women, which led to a mixture of blood, though never to anything like the extent that it did with the Portuguese. He had observed that among his opponents there were not as many pure Europeans as Eurasians, and he thought it would be well for Holland to have a similar class of people in the eastern islands devoted to her interests. Fortunately for their country this view was not shared by many of the working people, though some

* These journals in a condensed form can be seen in the volumes entitled *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlandsche Geotroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie, vervatende de Voornaemste Reyzen by de Inwoonderen derselver Provinciën gedaan*. Two thick oblong volumes, published at Amsterdam in 1646.

of the officials fell in with it. Thereafter in the case of the Dutch such alliances were permitted and no degradation was attached to them,* while in the case of the Portuguese ever since Alboquerque's time they had been encouraged and when possible rewarded.

On the 28th of January 1608 Matelief sailed from Bantam in the *Oranje* to return home. On the 12th of April he put into Table Bay, as he was badly in want of meat, and hoped to obtain as much as he needed here. In this he succeeded, for he bartered thirty-four oxen, five calves, and a hundred and seventy-three sheep from the Hottentots for pieces of old iron hoop and rings, valued at less than a halfpenny for each animal. His description of the Hottentots is one of the best of that time, and is accurate in all its details. The greatest plague in Table Valley he found to be the flies, which from this and other accounts appear to have been even more troublesome then than they are to-day. On Robben Island he killed about a hundred seals for the sake of their skins, and as he had more sheep than he needed, he left twenty there to breed. He remained in Table Bay longer than two months, and with a crew thoroughly refreshed he set sail for Holland on the 22nd of June.

* For a description of the effect of this mixture of blood in the case of the highest Dutch officials in India, see Barrow's *Voyage to Cochinchina in the years 1792 and 1793*, a quarto volume of 447+xviii pages, published in London in 1806. Pages 208 *et seq.*—Ball given by the governor-general at Batavia, at which he was present.

CHAPTER XVI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DUTCH AND ENGLISH.

THOUGH the Dutch were soon in almost undisputed possession of the valuable Spice islands, they were never able to eject the Portuguese from the comparatively worthless coast of South-Eastern Africa. That coast would only have been an encumbrance to them, if they had secured it, for its commerce was never worth much more than the cost of its maintenance until the highlands of the interior were occupied by Europeans, and the terrible mortality caused by its malaria would have been a serious misfortune to them. It was out of their ocean highway too, for they steered across south of Madagascar, instead of keeping along the African shore. But they were drawn on by rumours of the gold which was to be had, and so they resolved to make themselves masters of Mozambique, and with that island of all the Portuguese possessions subordinate to it. In Lisbon their intentions were suspected, and in January 1601 the king issued instructions that Dom Alvaro d'Abanches, Nuno da Cunha's successor as captain of Mozambique, was on no account to absent himself from the island, as it might at any time be attacked by either the Turks or the Dutch.

On the 18th of December 1603 Steven van der Hagen left Holland for India with a strong armed fleet, consisting of the *Vereenigde Provinciën*, *Amsterdam*, *Dordrecht*, *Hoorn*, and *West Friesland*, each of three hundred and fifty tons burden, the *Gelderland* and *Zeelandia*, each of two hundred and fifty tons, the *Hof van Holland*, of one hundred and eighty tons, the *Delft* and *Enkhuizen*, each of one hundred and

fifty tons, the *Medenblik*, of one hundred and twenty-five tons, and a despatch boat named the *Dwifken*, of thirty tons burden. In those days such a fleet was regarded as, and actually was, a very formidable force, for though there were no ships in it of the size of the great galleons of Spain and Portugal, each one was much less unwieldy, and had its artillery better placed. There were twelve hundred men on board, and the equipment cost no less than £184,947 6s. 8d.

Van der Hagen arrived before Mozambique on the 17th of June 1604. Fort São Sebastião had not at the time its ordinary garrison of one hundred soldiers, owing to a disaster that had recently occurred. A great horde of barbarians, called the Cabires by the Portuguese, had entered the territory of the monomotapa, and were laying it waste, so the captain Lourenço de Brito went to the assistance of the Karanga chief, but was defeated and lost ten or twelve Portuguese and part of his stores. Sebastião de Macedo was then in command at Mozambique. He sent a vessel with fifty soldiers to De Brito's assistance, but on the passage she was lost with all on board. None had yet arrived to replace them, but the resident inhabitants of the island had retired to the fort with everything of value that they could remove, so Van der Hagen considered it too strong to be attacked and therefore proceeded to blockade it. There was a carrack at anchor, waiting for some others from Lisbon to sail in company to Goa. The boats of the Dutch fleet cut her out, in spite of the heavy fire of the fort upon them. She had on board a quantity of ivory collected at Sofala and other places on the East African coast, but nothing else of much value.

On the 30th of June a small vessel from one of the factories, laden with rice and ivory, came running up to the island, and was too near to escape when she discovered her danger. She was turned into a tender, and named the *Mozambique*. Then, for five weeks, the blockade continued, without any noteworthy incident. On the 5th of August five pangayos arrived, laden with rice and millet, and were of

course seized. Three days later Van der Hagen landed on the island with one hundred and fifty men, but found no sign of hunger, and saw that the prospect of the surrender of the fort was remote. He did no other damage than setting fire to a single house, and as night drew on he returned on board.

He was now anxious to proceed to India, so on the 12th of August he set fire to the captured carrack, and sailed, leaving the *Delft*, *Enkhuizen*, and *Duifken*, to wait for the ships expected from Lisbon. These vessels rejoined him, but without having made any prizes, before he attacked the Portuguese at Amboina and Tidor, and got possession of the Spice islands. In this manner the first siege of Mozambique was conducted, and failed.

The next attempt was in 1607. On the 29th of March of that year a Dutch fleet of eight large ships—the *Banda*, *Bantam*, *Ceylon*, *Walcheren*, *Ter Veere*, *Zierikzee*, *China*, and *Patane*,—carrying one thousand and sixty men, commanded by Paulus van Caerden, appeared before the island. The Portuguese historian of this event represents that the fortress was at the time badly in want of repair, that it was insufficiently provided with cannon, and that there were no artillerymen nor indeed regular soldiers of any branch of the service in it, its defence being undertaken by seventy male inhabitants of the town, who were the only persons on the island capable of bearing arms. But this statement does not agree either with the Dutch narrative or with the account given by Dos Santos, from which it appears that there were between soldiers and residents of the island one hundred and forty-five men in the fortress. It was commanded by an officer—Dom Estevão d'Ataide by name—who deserves a place among the bravest of his countrymen. He divided his force into four companies, to each of which he gave a bastion in charge. To one, under Martim Gomes de Carvalho, was committed the defence of the bastion São João, another, under Antonio Monteiro Corte Real, had a similar charge in the bastion Santo Antonio, the bastion Nossa Senhora was

confided to the care of André de Alpoim de Brito, while the bastion São Gabriel, which was the one most exposed to assault on the land side and where the stoutest resistance would have to be made, was entrusted to the company under Diogo de Carvalho. The people of the town hastily took shelter within the fortress, carrying their most valuable effects with them.

Van Caerden, in the *Banda*, led the way right under the guns of São Sebastião to the anchorage, where the Sofala packet and two carracks were lying. A heavy fire was opened on both sides, but, though the ships were slightly damaged, as the ramparts were of great height and the Portuguese guns could not be depressed to command the Dutch position thoroughly, no one except the master of the *Ceylon* was wounded. Two of the vessels at anchor were partly burned, but all were made prizes, after their crews had escaped to the shore.

On the 1st of April Van Caerden landed with seven hundred men and seven heavy guns, several of them twenty-eight-pounders, in order to lay siege to Fort São Sebastião. The Portuguese set fire to the town, in order to prevent their enemy from getting possession of spoil, though in this object they were unsuccessful, as a heavy fall of rain extinguished the flames before much damage was done. The Dutch commander took possession of the abandoned buildings without opposition, and made the Dominican convent his headquarters, lodging his people in the best houses. He commenced at once making trenches in which the fortress could be approached by men under shelter from its fire, and on the 6th his first battery was completed. The blacks, excepting the able-bodied, being considered an encumbrance by both combatants, D'Ataide expelled those who were in the fort, and Van Caerden caused all who were within his reach to be transported to the mainland.

From the batteries, which were mere earthen mounds with level surfaces, protected on the exposed sides with boxes, casks, and bags filled with soil, a heavy fire was opened, by

which the parapet of the bastion Santo Antonio was broken down, but it was repaired at night by the defenders, the women and others incapable of bearing arms giving assistance in this labour. The musketeers on the walls, in return, caused some loss to their opponents by shooting any who exposed themselves. The Portuguese historian makes special mention of one Dutch officer in a suit of white armour, who went about recklessly in full view, encouraging his men, and apparently regardless of danger, until he was killed by a musket ball.

The trenches were at length within thirty paces of the bastion São Gabriel, and a battery was constructed there, which could not be injured by the cannon on the fortress owing to their great elevation, while from it the walls could be battered with twenty-eight pound shot as long as the artillerymen took care not to show themselves to the musketeers on the ramparts. The Dutch commander then proposed a parley, and D'Ataide having consented, he demanded the surrender of the fortress. He stated that the Portuguese could expect no assistance from either Europe or India, as the mother country was exhausted and the viceroy Dom Martim Affonso de Castro had been defeated in a naval engagement, besides which nearly all the strongholds of the East were lost to them. It would therefore be better to capitulate while it could be done in safety than to expose the lives of the garrison to the fury of men who would carry the place by storm. Further, even if the walls proved too massive for cannon, hunger must soon reduce the fortress, as there could not be more than three months' provisions in it. The Portuguese replied with taunts and bravado, and defied the besiegers to do their worst. They would have no other intercourse with rebels, they said, than that of arms.

During the night of the 17th some of the garrison made a sortie for the purpose of destroying a drawbridge, which they effected, and then retired, after having killed two men according to their own account, though only having wounded one according to the Dutch statement. A trench was now

made close up to the wall of the bastion São Gabriel, and was covered with movable shields of timber of such thickness that they could not be destroyed by anything thrown upon them from the ramparts. During the night of the 29th, however, the garrison made a second sortie, in which they killed five Hollanders and wounded many more, and on the following day they succeeded in destroying the wooden shields by fire.

In the meantime fever and dysentery had attacked Van Caerden's people, and the prospect was becoming gloomy in the extreme. The fire from the batteries and ships had not damaged the walls of the fortress below the parapet, and sickness was increasing so fast that the Dutch commander could not wait for famine to give him the prize. He therefore resolved to raise the siege, and on the 6th of May he removed his cannon.

War between nations of different creeds in those days was carried on in a merciless manner. On the 7th of May Van Caerden wrote to Captain d'Ataide that he intended to burn and destroy all the churches, convents, houses, and palm groves on the island and the buildings and plantations on the mainland, unless they were ransomed; but offered to make terms if messengers were sent to him with that object. A truce was entered into for the purpose of correspondence, and six Hollanders dressed in Spanish costume went with a letter to the foot of the wall, where it was fastened to a string and drawn up. D'Ataide declined the proposal, however, and replied that he had no instructions from his superiors, nor intention of his own, except to do all that was possible with his weapons. He believed that if he ransomed the town on this occasion, he would only expose it to similar treatment every time a strong Dutch fleet should pass that way.

Van Caerden then burned all the boats, canoes, and houses, cut down all the cocoa-nut trees, sent a party of men to the mainland, who destroyed everything of value that they could reach there, and finally, just before

embarking, he set fire to the Dominican convent and the church of São Gabriel. What was more to be deplored, adds the Portuguese historian Barbuda, "the perfidious heretics burned with abominable fury all the images that were in the churches, after which they treated them with a thousand barbarous indignities." The walls of the great church and of some other buildings were too massive to be destroyed by the flames, but everything that was combustible was utterly ruined.

On the morning of the 16th of May, before daylight, the Dutch fleet set sail. As the ships were passing Fort São Sebastião every gun that could be got to bear was brought into use on both sides, when the *Zierikzee* had her tiller shot away, and ran aground. Her crew and the most valuable effects on board were rescued, however, by the boats of the rest of the fleet, though many men were wounded by the fire from the fort. The wreck was given to the flames.

In the second attempt to get possession of Mozambique the Dutch lost forty men, either killed by the enemy or carried off by fever, and they took many sick and wounded away. The Portuguese asserted that they had only thirteen men killed during the siege, and they magnified their slain opponents to over three hundred.

After Van Caerden sailed the Portuguese set about repairing the damage that had been done. In this they were assisted by the crews of three ships, under command of Dom Jeronymo Coutinho, that called on their way from Lisbon to Goa. The batteries were removed, the trenches were levelled, the walls of the ruined Dominican convent were broken down, and the fortress was repaired and provided with a good supply of food and munitions of war. Its garrison also was strengthened with one hundred soldiers landed from the ships. The inhabitants of the town returned to the ruins of their former habitations, and endeavoured to make new homes for themselves. These efforts to retrieve their disasters had hardly been

made when the island was attacked by another and more formidable fleet.

It consisted of the ships *Geunieerde Provintien*, *Hollandia*, *Amsterdam*, *Roode Leeuw met Pylen*, *Middelburg*, *Zeelandia*, *Delft*, *Rotterdam*, *Hoorn*, *Arend*, *Paauw*, *Valk*, and *Griffioen*, carrying in all between eighteen and nineteen hundred men, and was under the command of Pieter Willemszoon Verhoeff, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself after Admiral Heemskerk's death in the famous battle in Gibraltar Bay. Verhoeff left the Netherlands on the 22nd of December 1607, and after a long stay at the island of St. Helena where he waited for the westerly winds to take him past the Cape of Good Hope, on the 28th of July 1608 arrived at Mozambique. He was under the impression that Van Caerden had certainly obtained possession of the fortress, and his object was to lie in wait for Portuguese ships in the Channel; but he was undeceived when his signals were answered with cannon balls and a flag of defiance was hoisted over the ramparts.

In the port were lying four coasting vessels and a carrack with a valuable cargo on board, ready to sail for Goa. In endeavouring to escape, the carrack ran aground under the guns of the fort, where the Dutch got possession of her, and made thirty-four of the crew prisoners. These were removed, but before much of the cargo could be got out the Portuguese from the fortress made a gallant dash, retook the carrack, and burned her to the water's edge. Two of the coasters were made prizes, the other two were in a position where they could not be attacked.

Within a few hours of his arrival Verhoeff landed a strong force, and formed a camp on the site of the destroyed Dominican convent. Next morning he commenced making trenches towards the fortress, by digging ditches and filling bags with earth, of which banks were then made. The Portuguese of the town had retired within the fortress in such haste that they were unable to remove any of their effects, and the blacks, as during the preceding

siege, were now sent over to the mainland to be out of the way. Some of the ships were directed to cruise off the port, the others were anchored out of cannon range. A regular siege of the fortress was commenced.

In the mode of attack this siege differed little from that by Van Caerden, as trenches and batteries were made in the same manner and almost in the same places. But there were some incidents connected with it that deserve to be mentioned. At its commencement an accident occurred in the fortress, which nearly had disastrous consequences. A soldier, through carelessness, let a lighted fuse fall in a quantity of gunpowder, and by the explosion that resulted several men were killed and a fire was kindled which for a short time threatened the destruction of the storehouses, but which was extinguished before much harm was done.

On the second day after the batteries were in full working order the wall of the fortress between the bastions Santo Antonio and São Gabriel was partly broken down, and, according to the Portuguese account, a breach was opened through which a storming party might have entered. "If," says the historian Barbuda, "they had been Portuguese, no doubt they would have stormed; but as the Dutch are nothing more than good artillerymen, and beyond this are of no account except to be burned as desperate heretics, they had not courage to rush through the ruin of the wall." That this was said of men who had fought under Heemskerk leads one to suspect that probably the breach was not of great size, and the more so as the garrison was able to repair it during the following night. It is not mentioned in the Dutch account, in which the bravery of their opponents is fully recognised.

On the 4th of August Verhoeff sent a trumpeter with a letter demanding the surrender of the fortress. D'Ataide would not even write a reply. He said that as he had compelled Van Caerden to abandon the siege he hoped to be able to do the same with his present opponent. The captain of the bastion São Gabriel, however, wrote that the castle had

been confided by the king to the commandant, who was not the kind of cat to be taken without gloves. Verhoeff believed that the garrison was ill supplied with food, so his trumpeter was well entertained, and on several occasions goats and pigs were driven out of the gateway in a spirit of bravado.

Sorties were frequently made by the besieged, who had the advantage of being able to observe from the ramparts the movements of the Dutch. In one of these a soldier named Moraria distinguished himself by attacking singly with his lance three pikemen in armour at a distance from their batteries, killing two of them, and wounding the other.

D'Ataide was made acquainted with his enemy's plans by a French deserter, who claimed his protection on the ground of being of the same religion. Four others subsequently deserted from the Dutch camp, and were received in the fortress on the same plea. Verhoeff demanded that they should be surrendered to him, and threatened that if they were not given up he would put to death the thirty-four prisoners he had taken in the carrack. D'Ataide replied that if the prisoners were thirty-four thousand he would not betray men who were catholics and who had claimed his protection, but if the Portuguese captives were murdered their blood would certainly be avenged. Verhoeff relates in his journal that the whole of the prisoners were then brought out in sight of the garrison and shot, regarding the act in the spirit of the time as rather creditable than otherwise; but the version of the Portuguese historian may be correct, in which it is stated that six men with their hands bound were shot in sight of their countrymen, and that the others, though threatened, were spared.

Until the 18th of August the siege was continued. Twelve hundred and fifty cannon balls had been fired against the fortress, without effect as far as its reduction was concerned. Thirty of Verhoeff's men had been killed and eighty were wounded. He therefore abandoned the effort, and embarked his force, after destroying what remained of the town.

On the 21st a great galleon approached the island so close that the ships in the harbour could be counted from her deck, but put about the moment the Dutch flag was distinguished. Verhoeff sent the ships *Arend*, *Griffioen*, and *Valk* in pursuit, and she was soon overtaken. According to the Dutch account she made hardly any resistance, but in a letter to the king from her captain, Francisco de Sodre Pereira, which is still preserved, he claims to have made a gallant stand for the honour of his flag. The galleon was poorly armed, but he says that he fought till his ammunition was all expended, and even then would not consent to surrender, though the ship was so riddled with cannon balls that she was in danger of going down. He preferred, he said to those around him, to sink with his colours flying. The purser, however, lowered the ensign without orders, and a moment afterwards the Dutch, who had closed in, took possession. The prize proved to be the *Bom Jesus*, from Lisbon, which had got separated from a fleet on the way to Goa, under command of the newly appointed viceroy, the count De Feira. She had a crew of one hundred and eighty men. The officers were detained as prisoners, the others were put ashore on the island Saint George with provisions sufficient to last them two days.

On the 23rd of August the fleet sailed from Mozambique for India. There can be little question that this defeat of the Dutch was more advantageous to them than victory would have been, for if their design had succeeded a very heavy tax upon their resources and their energy would have been entailed thereafter. They did not realise this fact, however, and fifty - five years later another unsuccessful attempt was made to acquire the coveted East African possessions.

Although Fort São Sebastião after the last siege was provided with a garrison of one hundred and fifty men and some small armed vessels were kept on the coast to endeavour to prevent the Dutch from communicating with the inhabitants or obtaining provisions and water, their ships

kept the Portuguese stations in constant alarm. In the eastern seas the Netherlands were rapidly becoming possessed of the most important positions. They had already factories or trading stations at Masulipatam, Pulikat, and two smaller places on the eastern coast of Hindostan, they had liberty to trade at Calicut, they had entered into a favourable treaty with the maharaja of Kandy in Ceylon, they had factories at Bantam and Grésik in Java, and in November 1610 they entered into a treaty with the ruler of Jakatra in the same island, in which they secured the site of the future city of Batavia, they held the protectorate of Ternate, although the Portuguese still had a fort there, Neira was theirs with a monopoly of the spice trade of all the Banda islands, Batjan was theirs also, as was Amboina, they had factories at Patani on the eastern coast of the Malay peninsula, established in 1604, and at Johor at its southern extremity, also at Achin in Sumatra, at Landok in Borneo, on the island of Celebes, and in the empire of Japan. The foundation of the vast realm which they subsequently acquired in the eastern seas was thus established on the ruins of the gigantic dominions of Portugal, though much fighting was still to be done before it should be fully built up. They distributed their spices, calicoes, muslins, and silks over Europe, whereas their predecessors were satisfied with making Lisbon a market, to which purchasers of other nations might come for whatever they needed.

Against all this must indeed be set certain reverses, for the Portuguese, if weak, were not wanting in valour, and did all that brave men could do to defend their possessions. One of the leading Dutch commanders of the time was discomfited by them.*

* See *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geotroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie, vervatende de Voornaemste Reyzen by de Inwoonderen derselver Provinciën derwaerts gedaen*. For an account of the deeds of André Furtado de Mendoga see the last two volumes of De Couto's *Da Asia*.

On the 12th of May 1605 Cornelis Matelief sailed from Holland with eleven ships for India. One of the most important strongholds of the Portuguese in the East was Malacca, as it commanded the navigation of the strait of the same name. Matelief entered into a treaty with the sultan of Johor at the southern extremity of the Malay peninsula, and with his assistance endeavoured to obtain possession of the stronghold, which was bravely defended by André Furtado de Mendoça. The first blockade of Malacca lasted four months, and ended by Matelief's being obliged to retire from a superior naval force sent from Goa. The second blockade was shorter, but though seven Portuguese ships were taken and five hundred Portuguese soldiers were killed, it was unsuccessful.* At Amboina Matelief strengthened the garrison of the Dutch fort, already occupied. He did not get possession of the Portuguese castle on Ternate, but he built Fort Orange on another part of the island, and left an effective garrison in it.

On the 21st of November 1609 Pieter Both was appointed first governor-general of Netherlands India. He left Texel with the next fleet, which sailed in the following January. In a great storm off the Cape his ship got separated from the others, so he put into Table Bay to repair some damages to the mainmast and to refresh his men. In July 1610 Captain Nicholas Downton called at the same port in an English vessel, and found

* Malacca, owing to its commanding position at that time, was more coveted by the Dutch than any other Portuguese possession in the East. For the same reason the Portuguese clung to it, and used every exertion to save it. After many years of occasional blockades it was taken by the Dutch in January 1641, after a siege of nearly six months, in which the defenders displayed extraordinary bravery, though reduced to great straits through want of food. The Dutch were assisted by a flotilla and a strong body of troops from Johor. A virulent disease broke out during the siege, which carried off a large number of men on both sides,—
See Vies des Gouverneurs Generaux. Antonie van Diemen.

Governor-General Both's ship taking in train oil which had been collected at Robben Island.

In May 1611 the Dutch skipper Isaac le Maire, after whom the straits of Le Maire are named, called at Table Bay. When he sailed he left behind his son Jacob and a party of seamen, who resided in Table Valley for several months. Their object was to kill seals on Robben Island, and to harpoon whales, which were then very abundant in South African waters in the winter season. They also tried to open up a trade for skins of animals with the Hottentots in the neighbourhood, but in this met with no success, as those barbarians needed all the peltry they could obtain for their own use.

In 1616 the assembly of seventeen resolved that its outward bound fleets should always put into Table Bay to refresh the crews, and from that time onward Dutch ships touched there almost every season. A kind of post office was established by marking the dates of arrivals and departures on stones, and burying letters in places indicated. But no attempt was made to explore the country, and no port south of the Zambesi except Table Bay was frequented by Netherlanders, so that down to the middle of the century nothing more concerning it was known than the Portuguese had placed on record.

The Dutch had now to fear the competition of their neighbours on the other side of the North sea more than that of the Portuguese. The English were equally enterprising and courageous, and however friendly the two nations might be in Europe, in distant lands they were animated by a spirit of rivalry which on some occasions went so far as to cause them to act unscrupulously towards each other. It will not be necessary to relate here the proceedings of the English in the eastern seas, but some references to their visits to Table Bay in those early times must be made.

They too had established an East India Company, whose first fleet, consisting of the *Dragon*, of six hundred

tons, the *Hector*, of three hundred tons, the *Ascension*, of two hundred and sixty tons, and the *Susan*, of two hundred and forty tons burden, sailed from Torbay on the 22nd of April 1601. The admiral was James Lancaster, the same who had commanded the *Edward Bonaventure* ten years earlier. The chief pilot was John Davis, who had only returned from the Indies nine months before. On the 9th of September the fleet came to anchor in Table Bay, by which time the crews of all except the admiral's ship were so terribly afflicted with scurvy that they were unable to drop their anchors. The admiral had kept his men in a tolerable state of health by supplying them with a small quantity of limejuice daily. After his ship was anchored he was obliged to get out his boats and go to the assistance of the others. Sails were then taken on shore to serve as tents, and the sick were landed as soon as possible. Trade was commenced with the Hottentots, and in the course of a few days forty-two oxen and a thousand sheep were obtained for pieces of iron hoop. The fleet remained in Table Bay nearly seven weeks, during which time most of the sick men recovered.

On the 5th of December 1604 the *Tiger*, a ship of two hundred and forty tons, and a pinnace called the *Tiger's Whelp* set sail from Cowes for the Indies. The expedition was under command of Sir Edward Michelburne, and next to him in rank was Captain John Davis. It was the last voyage that this famous seaman was destined to make, for he was killed in an encounter with Japanese pirates on the 27th of December 1605. The journal of the voyage contains the following paragraph:—

“The 3rd of April 1605 we sailed by a little island which Captain John Davis took to be one that stands some five or six leagues from Saldanha. Whereupon our general, Sir Edward Michelburne, desirous to see the island; took his skiff, accompanied by no more than the master's mate, the purser, myself, and four men that did row the

boat, and so putting off from the ship we came on land. While we were on shore they in the ship had a storm, which drove them out of sight of the island; and we were two days and two nights before we could recover our ship. Upon the said island is abundance of great conies and seals, whereupon we called it Cony Island."

On the 9th of April they anchored in Table Bay, where they remained until the 3rd of the following month refreshing themselves.

On the 14th of March 1608 the East India Company's ships *Ascension* and *Union* sailed from England, and on the 14th of July put into Table Bay to obtain refreshments and to build a small vessel for which they had brought out the materials ready prepared. The crews constructed a fort to protect themselves, by raising an earthen wall in the form of a square and mounting a cannon on each angle. They found a few Hottentots on the shore, to whom they made known by signs their want of oxen and sheep, which three days afterwards were brought for barter in such numbers that they procured as much meat as they needed. They gave a yard (91.4 centimetres) of iron hoop for an ox, and half that length for a sheep. After bartering them, the Hottentots whistled some away and then brought them for sale again, which was not resented, as the English officers were desirous of remaining on friendly terms with the rude people. For the same reason no notice was taken of the theft of various articles of trifling value.

Boats were sent to Robben Island to capture seals, as oil was needed, and many of these animals were killed and brought to the fort. After cutting off the oily parts the carcasses were carried to a distance as useless, but for fifteen days the Hottentots feasted upon the flesh, which they merely heated on embers, though before the expiration of that time it had become so putrid and the odour so offensive that the Europeans were obliged to keep at a great distance from it.

Great quantities of steenbras were obtained with a seine at the mouth of Salt River, and three thousand five hundred mullets were caught and taken on board for consumption after leaving. The object of refreshing was thus fully carried out, as was also that of putting together the little vessel, which was even made larger than the original design, and which when launched was named the *Good Hope*.

Mr. John Jourdain, an official of the East India Company, who was a passenger in the *Ascension*, and from whose journal this account is taken, with some others ascended Table Mountain. From its summit they saw the same sheet of water on the flats which Antonio de Saldanha a hundred and five years before had mistaken for the mouth of a great river, and which Mr. Jourdain now mistook for an inland harbour with an opening to the sea by which ships might enter it. He, however, unlike his Portuguese predecessor, had an opportunity afterwards of visiting the big pond and ascertaining that his conjecture was incorrect.

Mr. Jourdain was of opinion that a settlement of great utility might be formed in Table Valley. In words almost identical with those of Jansen and Proot forty years later he spoke of its capabilities for producing grain and fruit, of the hides, sealskins, and oil that could be obtained to reduce the expense, of the possibility of opening up a trade in ivory, as he had seen many footprints of elephants, and of bringing the Hottentots first to "civility," and then to a knowledge of God.

After a stay of little more than two months, on the 19th of September the *Ascension* and *Union* sailed again, with the *Good Hope* in their company.

From this date onward the fleets of the English East India Company made Table Bay a port of call and refreshment, and usually procured in barter from the Hottentots as many cattle as they needed. In 1614 the board of directors sent a ship with as many spare men

as she could carry, a quantity of provisions, and some naval stores to Table Bay to wait for the homeward bound fleet, and, while delayed, to carry on a whale and seal fishery as a means of partly meeting the expense. The plan was found to answer fairly well, and it was continued for several years. The relieving vessels left England between October and February, in order to be at the Cape in May, when the homeward bound fleets usually arrived from India. If men were much needed, the victualler—which was commonly an old vessel—was then abandoned, otherwise an ordinary crew was left in her to capture whales, or she proceeded to some port in the East, according to circumstances.

The advantage of a place of refreshment in South Africa was obvious, and as early as 1613 enterprising individuals in the service of the East India Company drew the attention of the directors to the advisability of forming a settlement in Table Valley. Still earlier it was rumoured that the king of Spain and Portugal had such a design in contemplation, with the object of cutting off the intercourse of all other nations with the Indian seas, so that the strategical value of the Cape was already recognised. The directors discussed the matter on several occasions, but their views in those days were very limited, and the scheme seemed too large for them to attempt alone.

In their fleets were officers of a much more enterprising spirit, as they were without responsibility in regard to the cost of any new undertaking. In 1620 some of these proclaimed King James I sovereign of the territory extending from Table Bay to the dominions of the nearest Christian prince. The records of this event are interesting, as they not only give the particulars of the proclamation and the reasons that led to it, but show that there must often have been a good deal of bustle in Table Valley in those days.

On the 24th of June 1620 four ships bound to Surat, under command of Andrew Shillinge, put into Table Bay,

and were joined when entering by two others bound to Bantam, under command of Humphrey Fitzherbert. The Dutch had at this time the greater part of the commerce of the East in their hands, and nine large ships under their flag were found at anchor. The English vessel *Lion* was also there. Commodore Fitzherbert made the acquaintance of some of the Dutch officers, and was informed by them that they had inspected the country around, as their Company intended to form a settlement in Table Valley the following year. Thereupon he consulted with Commodore Shillinge, who agreed with him that it was advisable to try to frustrate the project of the Hollanders. On the 25th the Dutch fleet sailed for Bantam, and the *Lion* left at the same time, but the *Schiedam*, from Delft, arrived and cast anchor.

On the 1st of July the principal English officers, twenty-one in number—among them the Arctic navigator William Baffin—met in council, and resolved to proclaim the sovereignty of King James I over the whole country. They placed on record their reasons for this decision, which were, that they were of opinion a few men only would be needed to keep possession of Table Valley, that a plantation would be of great service for the refreshment of the fleets, that the soil was fruitful and the climate pleasant, that the Hottentots would become willing subjects in time and they hoped would also become servants of God, that the whale fishery would be a source of profit, but, above all, that they regarded it as more fitting for the Dutch when ashore there to be subjects of the king of England than for Englishmen to be subject to them or any one else. “Rule Britannia” was a very strong sentiment, evidently, with that party of adventurous seamen.

On the 3rd of July a proclamation of sovereignty was read in the presence of as many men of the six ships as could go ashore for the purpose of taking part in the ceremony. Skipper Jan Cornelis Kunst, of the *Schiedam*,

and some of his officers were also present, and raised no objection. On the Lion's rump, or King James's mount as Fitzherbert and Shillinge named it, the flag of St. George was hoisted, and was saluted, the spot being afterwards marked by a mound of stones. A small flag was then given to the Hottentots to preserve and exhibit to visitors, which it was believed they would do most carefully.

After going through this ceremony with the object of frustrating the designs of the Dutch, the English officers buried a packet of despatches beside a stone slab in the valley, on which were engraved the letters V O C, they being in perfect ignorance of the fact that those symbols denoted prior possession taken for the Dutch East India Company. On the 25th of July the Surat fleet sailed, and on the next day Fitzherbert's two ships followed, leaving at anchor in the bay only the English ship *Bear*, which had arrived on the 10th.

The proceeding of Fitzherbert and Shillinge, which was entirely unauthorised, was not confirmed by the directors of the East India Company or by the government of England, and nothing whatever came of it. At that time the ocean commerce of England was small, and as she had just entered upon the work of colonising North America, she was not prepared to attempt to form a settlement in South Africa also. Her king and the directors of her India Company had no higher ambition than to enter into a close alliance with the Dutch Company, and to secure by this means a stated proportion of the trade of the East. In the Netherlands also a large and influential party was in favour of either forming a federated company, or of a binding union of some kind, so as to put it out of the power of the Spaniards and Portuguese to harm them. From 1613 onward this matter was frequently discussed on both sides of the Channel, and delegates went backward and forward, but it was almost impossible to arrange terms.

The Dutch had many fortresses which they had either built or taken from the Portuguese in Java and the Spice islands, and the English had none, so that the conditions of the two parties were unequal. In 1617, however, the king of France sent ships to the eastern seas, and in the following year the king of Denmark embarked in the same enterprise, when a possibility arose that one or other of them might unite with Holland or England. Accordingly each party was more willing than before to make concessions, and on the 2nd of June 1619 a treaty of close alliance was entered into at London between the two Companies, which was ratified by their respective governments.*

It provided that all past differences should be forgotten, and all persons, ships, and goods detained by either side be immediately released. That the servants of each Company should act in the most friendly manner towards those of the other, and give them assistance when needed. That commerce in all parts of India should be free to both. That joint efforts should be made to reduce the price of products in India to a fixed and reasonable rate, and that a selling price in Europe should be agreed upon from time to time, below which it should not be lawful for either party to dispose of them. That pepper should only be purchased in Java by a commission representing both parties, and be equally divided afterwards between the two Companies. That the Dutch Company should have two-thirds of the trade at the Moluccas, Banda, and Amboina, and the English one-third. That twenty ships of war from six to eight hundred tons burden, armed with thirty heavy cannon, and carrying one hundred and fifty men each, should be

* See pages 188 to 202 of Volume II of *A General Collection of Treatys, Manifesto's, Contracts of Marriage, Renunciations, and other Publick Papers, from the year 1495, to the year 1712*, second edition published in London in 1732. This work can be seen in any of the large public libraries.

maintained in the eastern seas for the protection of commerce, half by each Company. And that a council of defence should be established, consisting of four of the principal officers on each side, to appoint stations for the ships and to engage and pay land forces.

There were thirty-one articles in all, of which the above were the principal, the others referring to matters of less importance, but dealing with them in the same spirit. The treaty was intended to bring the two East India Companies into as close a union as that existing between the different provinces of the Netherlands republic.

The rivalry, however,—bordering closely on animosity—between the servants of the two Companies in distant lands prevented any agreement of this nature made in Europe being carried out, and although in 1623 another treaty of alliance was entered into, in the following year it was dissolved. Thereafter the great success of the Dutch in the East placed them beyond the desire of partnership with competitors.

While these negotiations were in progress, a proposal was made from Holland that a refreshment station should be established in South Africa for the joint use of the fleets of the two nations, and the English directors received it favourably. They undertook to cause a search for a proper place to be made by the next ship sent to the Cape with relief for the returning fleet, and left the Dutch at liberty to make a similar search in any convenient way. Accordingly on the 30th of November 1619 the assembly of seventeen issued instructions to the commander of the fleet then about to sail to examine the coast carefully from Saldanha Bay to a hundred or a hundred and fifty nautical miles east of the Cape of Good Hope, in order that the best harbour for the purpose might be selected. This was done, and an opinion was pronounced in favour of Table Bay. In 1622 a portion of the coast was inspected for the same

purpose by Captain Johnson, in the English ship *Rose*, but his opinion of Table Bay and the other places which he visited was such that he would not recommend any of them. The tenor of his report mattered little, however, for with the failure of the close alliance between the two companies, the design of establishing a refreshment station in South Africa was abandoned by both.

Perhaps the ill opinion of Table Bay formed by Captain Johnson may have arisen from an occurrence that took place on its shore during the previous voyage of the *Rose*. That ship arrived in the bay on the 28th of January 1620, and on the following day eight of her crew went ashore with a seine to catch fish near the mouth of Salt River. They never returned, but the bodies of four were afterwards found and buried, and it was believed that the Hottentots had either carried the other four away as prisoners or had murdered them and concealed their corpses.

This was not the only occurrence of the kind, for in March 1632 twenty-three men belonging to a Dutch ship that put into Table Bay lost their lives in conflict with the inhabitants. The cause of these quarrels is not known with certainty, but at the time it was believed they were brought on by the Europeans attempting to rob the Hottentots of cattle.

An experiment was once made with a view of trying to secure a firm friend among the Hottentots, and impressing those people with respect for the wonders of civilisation. In 1613 two Hottentots were taken from Table Valley on board a ship returning from India, one of whom died of grief soon after leaving his home. The other, who had the name Cory given to him, reached England, where he resided six months and learned to understand and speak a little English. He was made a great deal of, and received many rich and valuable presents from benevolent people. Sir Thomas Smythe, the governor of the East India Company, was particularly kind to him, and gave

him among other things a complete suit of brass armour. He returned to South Africa with Captain Nicholas Downton in the ship *New Year's Gift*, and in June 1614 landed in Table Bay with all his treasures. But Captain Downton, who thought that he was overflowing with gratitude, saw him no more. Cory returned to his former habits of living, and instead of acting as was anticipated, taught his countrymen to despise bits of copper in exchange for their cattle, so that for a long time afterwards it was impossible for ships that called to obtain a supply of fresh meat.

Mr. John Jourdain, when returning from India to England put into Table Bay on the 25th of February 1617. A few lean calves were obtained on the day the ships anchored, but nothing whatever afterwards, though at one time about ten thousand head of cattle were in sight. Mr. Jourdain and a party of sixty armed men went a short distance into the country, and he was of opinion that through the roguery of "that dogge Cory" they would have been drawn into a conflict with some five thousand Hottentots if they had not prudently retired. Thereafter he believed no cattle would be obtained except at dear rates, for the Hottentots no longer esteemed iron hoops, copper, or even shining brass. A fort, he considered, would be the only means of bringing them to "civility." On this occasion Mr. Jourdain remained in Table Bay eighteen days, of which only four were calm and fine.

According to a statement made by a Welshman who was in Table Bay in August 1627, and who kept a journal, part of which has been preserved,* Cory came to an evil end. The entry reads: "They" (the Hottentots) "hate the duchmen since they hanged on of the blackes called

* The name of the Welshman is not given in the *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh language* by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, (Vol. I, Part 3), published in London in 1905, from which this extract is taken.

Cary who was in England & upon refusall of fresh victuals they put him to death."

It has been seen what use the Portuguese made of convicts when they were exploring unknown countries, or when there were duties of a particularly hazardous or unpleasant nature to be performed. The English employed criminals in the same manner. In January 1615 the governor of the East India Company obtained permission from the king to transport some men under sentence of death to countries occupied by savages, where, it was supposed, they would be the means of procuring provisions, making discoveries, and creating trade. The records in existence—unless there are documents in some unknown place—furnish too scanty material for a complete account of the manner in which this design was carried out. Only the following can be ascertained with certainty. A few days after the consent of the king was given, the sheriffs of London sent seventeen men from Newgate on board ships bound to the Indies, and these were voluntarily accompanied by three others, who appear to have been convicted criminals, but not under sentence of death. The proceeding was regarded as "a very charitable deed and a means to bring them to God by giving them time for repentance, to crave pardon for their sins, and reconcile themselves unto His favour." On the 5th of June, after a passage from the Thames of one hundred and thirty-two days, the four ships comprising the fleet arrived in Table Bay, and on the 16th nine of the condemned men were set ashore with their own free will. A boat was left for their use, and to each a gun with some ammunition and a quantity of provisions was given.

Of some of these convicts the afterlife is known. Two were taken on to India by Sir Thomas Roe, one of whom, Duffield by name, returned with him to England, where he requited the kindness shown to him by stealing some plate and running away. Of those set ashore in Table Valley, one, named Cross, committed some offence

against the Hottentots shortly after the ships sailed, and was killed by them. The other *seven* * escaped to Robben Island, where their boat was wrecked. They lived five or six months on the island, when an English ship put into the bay, and four of them made a raft and tried to get to her, but were drowned on the way. The next day the ship sent a boat to the island, and took off the other three. They behaved badly on board, commenced to steal again as soon as they reached England, and were apprehended and executed in accordance with their old sentences.

In one of the ships that brought these convicts in 1615 Sir Thomas Roe, English envoy to the great Mogul, was a passenger. A pillar bearing an inscription of his embassy was set up in Table Valley, and fifteen or twenty kilogrammes weight of stone which he believed to contain quicksilver and vermilion was taken away to be assayed in England, but of particulars that would be much more interesting now no information whatever is to be had from the records of his journey.

* See *A Voyage to East India, wherein some things are taken notice of in our passage thither, but many more in our abode there, within that rich and most spacious Empire. Of the Great Mogols, &c., &c. Observed by Edward Terry (then Chaplain to the Right Honorable Sr. Thomas Row, Knight, Lord Ambassadour to the great Mogol) now Rector of the Church at Grunford, in the County of Middlesex.* A foolscap octavo volume of five hundred and forty-five pages, published in London in 1655. Terry says that he went to India the year after Sir Thomas Roe in a fleet of six ships—the *Charles*, of 1000 tons, the *Unicorn*, almost as big, the *James*, a large ship also, the *Globe*, the *Swan*, and the *Rose*, which were smaller. The fleet left the Thames on the 3rd of February 1615 (old style, 1616 it would be written now that the year commences on the 1st of January), under command of Captain Benjamin Joseph as commodore, and it rode at anchor in Table Bay from the 12th to the 28th of June. His statement concerning the convicts sent out the previous year does not fully agree with the records in the India office in London, which I consulted to obtain information on this subject, and which I follow as far as they go, though they are defective.

Again, in June 1616, three condemned men were set ashore in Table Valley from a fleet under Commodore Joseph on its way to the East. A letter signed by them is extant, in which they acknowledge the clemency of King James in granting them their forfeited lives, and promise to do his Majesty good and acceptable service. Terry, who was an eye-witness, says that before they were set ashore they begged the commodore rather to hang them than to abandon them, but he left them behind. The *Swan*, one of the vessels of the fleet, however, was detained in Table Bay a day or two longer than her consorts, and she took them on to Bantam in Java.

There may have been other instances of the kind, of which no record is in existence now, but this seems unlikely. It is certain that no information upon the country, its inhabitants, or its resources was ever obtained from criminals set ashore here.

No further effort was made by the English at this time to form a connection with the inhabitants of South Africa, though their ships continued to call at Table Bay for the purpose of taking in water and getting such other refreshment as was obtainable. They did not attempt to explore the country or to correct the charts of its coasts, nor did they frequent any of its ports except Table Bay, and very rarely Mossel Bay, until a much later date. A few remarks in ships' journals, and a few pages of observations and opinions in a book of travels such as that of Sir Thomas Herbert, from none of which can any reliable information be obtained that is not also to be drawn from earlier Portuguese writers, are all the contributions to a knowledge of South Africa made by Englishmen during the early years of the seventeenth century. Though they were behind no others in energy and daring, as Drake, Raleigh, Gilbert, Davis, Hawkins, and a host of others had proved so well, not forgetting either the memorable story of the *Revenge*, which Jan

Huyghen van Linschoten handed down for a modern historian to write in more thrilling words, England had not yet entered fully upon her destined career either of discovery or of commerce, the time when "the ocean wave should be her home" was still in the days to come.

The Danes were the next to make their appearance in the Indian seas. Their first fleet, fitted out by King Christian IV, consisted of six ships, under Ove Giedde as admiral. On the 8th of July 1619 this fleet put into Table Bay, where eight English ships were found at anchor, whose officers treated the Danes with hospitality. Admiral Giedde remained here until the 5th of August, when his people were sufficiently refreshed to proceed on their voyage. On the 30th of August 1621 he reached Table Bay again in the ship *Elephant* on his return passage from Ceylon and India, and remained until the 12th of September. Before leaving he had an inscription cut on a stone, in which the dates of both his visits were recorded.*

Commerce with India was now open to all the nations of Europe, for none of them could claim a monopoly of it as Portugal had done, basing her pretensions on rights derived from discovery and from the bull of the pope. The Nether-

* A considerable number of stones with records of the visits of ships of different nations engraved upon them have been discovered at different times, and most of them are now in the South African museum in Capetown. They were found in the neighbourhood of the present general post office and on the opposite side of Adderley street, that is along the lower course of the stream that was called the Fresh river, which fell into the bay just below that locality. That was the landing place in the olden time, and there the ships' water casks were filled, while scattered about were small boulders convenient for marking and readily seen. All the ground from a little below the post office down to the foot of the promenade pier has been reclaimed in modern times from the bay, and even the surface of that farther up has been raised, so that no more of the stones with engravings upon them are likely to be found except when excavations for drains or other purposes are made along the street.

lands obtained the largest share of it, simply because the Dutch were more active than their competitors. They indeed were the champions of what was then termed the Free Sea, that is of the right of every one to make use of the highways of the ocean. That was one of the principles for which they had fought with Spain, and having won in the contest they maintained it. In practice it meant that any one was at perfect liberty to carry on trade at any place not actually in possession of a European power or where there was no treaty or agreement giving exclusive commercial privileges to another party. Of course it did not mean that one power had the right to trade at a place occupied and under the flag of another power, unless there was an arrangement to that effect between the two.

The advantage of this to all consumers of eastern products was very great. Competition between different nationalities reduced the price of most articles, and brought them within reach of people who had not been able to use them before. These prices would have been still further reduced if each of the different nations had not limited its commerce by the creation of powerful monopolistic companies, thus destroying competition within its own borders, though not outside them. For instance, the English East India Company could fix the price of tea or pepper in London, but not in Hamburg, where the Dutch East India Company could bid against it, and when prices were brought down in Germany they could not be maintained much higher in Holland or in Great Britain. And so there was a general gain under the principle of the free sea.

CHAPTER XVII.

FRUITLESS SEARCH FOR SILVER MINES ON THE SOUTHERN BANK OF THE ZAMBESI.

THE power of the Portuguese in the East was irrecoverably broken, and their possessions were falling one after another into stronger hands, but the individual who was most affected by the change could not, or did not, realise the extent of his loss. That individual was Philippe, the third of Spain, the second of Portugal, who among his numerous titles still retained that of Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India. Perhaps he did not know of all the disasters that had overtaken his subjects, for he heard nothing except through the ears of the duke of Lerma, and that all-powerful favourite was not the man to point out that his empire was crumbling away, or to suggest any efficient means of preserving what still remained of it.

Accordingly in the royal orders to the viceroys of India, which commenced with the phrase "I the king," instructions were given in as lofty language as if Philippe was still really lord of the East and in receipt of an ample revenue. With regard to the coast of South-Eastern Africa, a hundred and fifty—a little later raised to three hundred—soldiers were to be stationed at Mozambique, the fortifications of Sofala were to be thoroughly repaired and provided with a garrison, forts were to be constructed at the different mouths of the Zambesi to protect the entrances of that river, Tete and Sena were to be made secure, and a fleet of armed vessels was to be kept cruising up and down the coast, so as to make the whole line impregnable. But where were

the men and the ships and the money to come from? That question could not be answered, and thus matters remained in the most wretched condition imaginable.

On the 21st of March 1608 the king wrote to Dom João Frojas Pereira, count of Feira, then viceroy of India, that Sebastião de Macedo and Dom Estevão d'Ataide, successively captains of Mozambique, had sent specimens of silver ore to Lisbon so rich as to yield two-thirds of their weight pure metal. The exact locality where the ore was obtained was unknown, but it was believed to be at Tshikova, on the southern bank of the Zambesi some distance above Tete. The king therefore ordered the viceroy to send a force of five hundred men under Sebastião de Macedo, Dom Estevão d'Ataide, or some other suitable person, to search for the mines and take possession of them. In addition to the fortifications and garrisons already mentioned, four strongholds, which Dom Estevão d'Ataide had represented as necessary to secure the country, were to be built and occupied, namely one each at Tshikova, Masapa, Bukoto, and Luanze. No ground except the actual mines was to be taken from the inhabitants, nor was the government of the monomotapa over his people to be interfered with in any way. The general in command of the expedition was to have supreme control in South-Eastern Africa, and upon his arrival was to appoint a new captain of Mozambique, who was to command the garrison and town in subordination to him.

The time was opportune for such an enterprise, as the principal Karanga tribe had for some years been engaged in civil war, and the Portuguese had acquired considerable influence in the country. In 1597, when Nuno da Cunha was captain of Mozambique, a powerful tribe on the border, under a chief named Tshunzo, made war upon the monomotapa, and sent two strong armies into his territory. One of these, under the induna Kapampo, marched as far as Masapa, but retreated on learning that an immense Karanga force under Ningomosha, the monomotapa's general in chief, was rapidly approaching. In retreating, Kapampo

laid the country along his line of march utterly waste, so that Ningomosha was unable to follow him. The monomotapa of the time, Gasilusere by name, was addicted to the use of dacha, and was otherwise a cruel, passionate, faithless tyrant. Though Ningomosha was in no way to blame for what had occurred, and was the next in rank to himself in the tribe, he caused him to be put to death for having failed to overtake Kapampo, and by this act raised against himself a large section of the people.

The other division of Tshunzo's force, under the induna Tshikanda, marched to within a short distance of the great place, and there made peace with the monomotapa on condition of being permitted to retain possession of the district it was then occupying. Two years later, however, the war was renewed, when Tshikanda robbed some slaves who were trading for their Portuguese masters, upon which the inhabitants of Tete and Sena joined the monomotapa against him. They were seventy-five in number, and took with them about two thousand Kaffir warriors, the whole force being under the command of Belchior d'Araujo, captain of Tete. Tshikanda was found within a lager, surrounded by about thirty thousand Makaranga. He had only six hundred warriors with him, but he had made as light of his opponents as a cat would of so many mice, attacking them by day and night and slaughtering many of them. The Portuguese approached the lager under cover of wickerwork screens carried before them, and shot so many of those within that Tshikanda offered to surrender on condition that the lives of his people should be spared. The Makaranga would not agree to this, so that night the besieged band attempted to cut its way through them, and Tshikanda and a few of his followers escaped. At dawn next morning the Portuguese entered the lager and found a considerable amount of spoil. They then returned to their homes, after having obtained from the monomotapa, in recompense of their services, permission to carry arms wherever they should travel in his country, a privilege they had not enjoyed before.

The defeat of Tshikanda, instead of restoring peace to the Karanga tribe, brought on civil war, for the party that resented the death of Ningomosha, being no longer apprehensive of danger from a foreign foe, rose in revolt against the drunken and ferocious monomotapa. They gained some successes, but when a few Portuguese under the leadership of Francisco da Cunha, captain of the Gates, went to the monomotapa's aid, they lost heart and fled to the territory of a chief who was supposed to be friendly to their cause. This chief, however, instead of receiving them as they had anticipated, seized their leader, cut off his head, and sent it to the monomotapa. By this act another of the rebel commanders, a man of great energy and ability, named Matuzianye, became the head of the insurgents, and he carried on the war so skilfully that in a few years he was master of nearly the whole country.

The monomotapa was in a sore plight when a Portuguese trader named Diogo Simões Madeira, who had been some time resident at Tete, volunteered to assist him. This man raised a small company of Europeans armed with arquebuses, with whose assistance the legitimate Karanga ruler recovered a large part of his territory. As a reward to his Portuguese friend for such valuable service he made him a present of the district of Inyabanzo adjoining the lands subject to Tete, with sovereign rights over the people residing in it. Further, on the 1st of August 1607, being encamped on the bank of the river Mazoe, he attached his mark to a document formally drawn up by the notary Miguel Nunes, in which he ceded to the king of Portugal all the mines of gold, copper, iron, tin, and lead in his country, on condition that the king should maintain him in his position. All silver mines he granted to Diogo Madeira, who in the same document transferred them to the king. Under his name on the deed of gift the monomotapa with his own hand made three crosses, and the document was signed as principals by Miguel Nunes and Diogo Simões Madeira. As witnesses the signatures were attached of the friar João Lobo, vicar of Luanze, the friar Manuel de São Vicente, chaplain of the force, and

twenty-four other Portuguese, in addition to the marks of several who could not write.

As a proof of good faith the monomotapa delivered to Diogo Madeira two of his sons, in order that they might be educated at Tete and brought up as Christians, and he promised to give two of his daughters for the same purpose. Shortly after this event the principal army of the insurgents was defeated in a pitched battle, and the monomotapa regained possession of his great place. The Portuguese then returned to Tete, taking with them the two young chiefs,—the daughters were never given to them,—and the country was apparently again in a condition of peace. The sons of the great chief were maintained in the house of Diogo Madeira, and having received instruction from the Dominican friars were baptized with the names Philippe and Diogo. The elder of the two, Philippe, then returned to his father, but Diogo remained at Tete, where he was taught to read and write as well as to assist the friars in the services of the church.

A year passed away, and the monomotapa collected his army again to attack the rebels who had not submitted. The tribe under Mongasi had hitherto maintained neutrality, but he now fell upon that chief and caused him to be killed. Thereupon the Mongasis effected a junction with Matuzianye, and at once the tide of success turned. The monomotapa's forces were defeated, and in a short time he was reduced to the greatest straits. Matuzianye then invaded Inyabanzo, but was driven back by Diogo Madeira, who built a strong lager and stationed twenty arquebusiers and three hundred Kaffir warriors in it. It was hardly completed when messengers arrived from the monomotapa, urgently begging for assistance. The great chief had just been defeated by Matuzianye in a battle in which he had been wounded himself and his eldest son had been killed. Diogo Madeira sent out a party that found the distressed fugitive, and escorted him to the lager at Inyabanzo, where he remained three months under the protection of the

Portuguese. Then he removed to Tshidima, farther up the southern bank of the Zambesi, where he would be within easy reach of European aid should his enemies attack him again. Surely romance furnishes nothing more strange than the hereditary chief of the largest and most advanced tribe of Southern Africa depending for existence upon the favour of a European adventurer with barely a couple of score of arquebuses at his command.

This was the state of affairs when the king's orders concerning the search for the silver mines were issued. The count of Feira, to whom they were addressed, died while they were on the way out, and the friar Dom Aleixo de Menezes, archbishop of Goa, was acting as governor-general of Portuguese India when they arrived. He could not carry them out completely, but he did what was possible by appointing Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, an officer of energy and ability, captain general of the conquest, and giving him a hundred soldiers to accompany him to South-Eastern Africa. In March 1609 the captain general arrived at Tete, and at once sent thirty soldiers to act as a bodyguard to the monomotapa. Having made the necessary arrangements, he directed Diogo Madeira to proceed to Tshidima in command of the remaining seventy soldiers and two thousand Kaffirs of Tete, and instructed him to deliver a valuable present to the monomotapa, whom he was to persuade to accompany the expedition to Tshikova and point out the silver mines. The monomotapa consented to this arrangement. On the way the chief of the clan that occupied Tshikova met the party and presented three small pieces of silver ore to the Portuguese leader, but he and his attendants disappeared immediately afterwards, and on arriving at the place neither the monomotapa nor any one else was able to point out a mine. Still it was believed that if the fugitive chief and his people could be captured they would be able to do so, and therefore it was resolved to suppress the insurrection as a preliminary measure.

After a stay of eighteen days at Tshikova the Portuguese army with all the warriors the monomotapa could collect marched against Matuzianye, and in a series of engagements inflicted such losses upon him that he was at length compelled to take refuge with a few followers on a strong mountain. The Portuguese, however, met with some reverses as well. At Bukoto they were defeated, and for a short time that station was occupied by the enemy. When at length Matuzianye's adherents were completely dispersed Diogo Madeira left ten soldiers as a bodyguard with the monomotapa, who was then at his great place, and with the remainder of his force he returned to Tete, taking with him several men of rank who were directed by the chief to transfer the silver mines to the captain general. Shortly after this Matuzianye was treacherously assassinated by an agent of the monomotapa, and organised opposition to the authority of the legitimate ruler entirely ceased throughout the country, though some robber bands still held out in the mountains.

In the meantime Ruy Lourenço de Tavora had arrived at Goa as viceroy, and had appointed Dom Estevão d'Ataide captain general of the conquest. Dom Estevão had arrived at Sena, and Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira had gone down the river to meet him and transfer the government. Diogo Madeira therefore proceeded to Sena with the monomotapa's envoys, and introduced them to the new captain general, at the same time reporting all that had occurred. But now a great change took place in the attitude of the Karanga deputies. Their tribe was once more united, and they felt themselves strong enough to resist the little party of Portuguese to whom they had been so submissive while Matuzianye was alive and in rebellion. They therefore put on a bold face, and demanded the merchandise which each new captain of Mozambique had been obliged to send to the monomotapa on entering office. Dom Estevão d'Ataide made large promises, but gave no cloth. He sent the Karanga deputies back to Masapa with Diogo Carvalho and

fifty soldiers, who built a stockade or strong lager there, and occupied it as a garrison. A robber band, consisting of the most determined of the late rebels, was in possession of a mountain stronghold close by, so the monomotapa sent an army to encamp in the neighbourhood, in expectation that the Portuguese would assist to destroy it. The robbers attacked Masapa twice, and caused some loss, but Carvalho was not to be drawn from his fort.

As Dom Estevão's promises were not fulfilled, the monomotapa grew weary of waiting for the merchandise which his envoys had asked for, and ordered a general empata, or confiscation of Portuguese property, throughout his country. Several traders were killed in resisting it, and even Diogo Madeira, who was on a bartering expedition at the time, although he had performed such eminent services for the great chief, was robbed of all his goods and barely escaped with his life. Diogo Carvalho, on learning what was taking place, formed an alliance with the robbers in his neighbourhood, and together with them fell upon the Karanga camp one night and created great havoc in it. He then abandoned Masapa and retired to Tete, leaving no Portuguese in the interior of the monomotapa's country.

Dom Estevão d'Ataide now resolved upon war with the Karanga tribe. The force under his command, consisting of only one hundred and twenty-five soldiers, was altogether too puny for such an undertaking, but he hoped to obtain the aid of the clans that had been recently in rebellion as well as of the tribes along the Zambesi that were the hereditary enemies of the monomotapa. He shifted his head quarters from Sena to Tete, and sent Diogo Carvalho two days' journey farther up the river to build and occupy a fort to be called Santo Estevão. This was just accomplished when a complete break in the proceedings occurred. It was reported in Lisbon that a fleet of unusual strength was about to leave Holland for India, so on the 10th of October 1611 the king issued instructions that the captain general of the conquest was at once to reinforce the garrison of

Mozambique, which then consisted of only twenty-five soldiers. In consequence of this order, in March 1612 Dom Estevão was obliged to leave Tete with all his force, and seven months elapsed before he could return. Diogo Madeira, who had received from the viceroy the appointment of captain of Tete for life, remained behind with the permanent residents of the place, but they, though assisted by their Bantu subjects and by the people of the district of Inyabanzo, could do nothing more than defend themselves against the strong army which the monomotapa sent to attack them.

In 1612 reinforcements of troops arrived at Mozambique from Portugal, and Dom Estevão d'Ataide was enabled to return to the Zambesi. But the king was becoming dissatisfied with the want of progress in conquest or discovery, and he found fault with the terms on which the viceroy Ruy Lourenço de Tavora had engaged the captain general. To the new viceroy, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo, he wrote that his predecessor had no authority to promise high honours and favours to Dom Estevão in the event of his being successful, and he directed that the agreement with him should be annulled. Dom Estevão was to proceed to India, leaving the direction of military matters in the hands of Diogo Simões Madeira, who was made a member of the order of Christ and was granted a small annual pension, besides being confirmed in possession of the district of Inyabanzo and promised the rank of a nobleman should he succeed in discovering and opening the silver mines. He was not, however, to have the position of captain general of the conquest, as Ruy de Mello de Sampayo, who had a claim to the captaincy of Mozambique under the former condition of affairs, was to have the civil administration and independent command of Fort São Sebastião given to him with a monopoly of the commerce south of the Zambesi on the usual terms.

Ruy de Mello de Sampayo was not in India when this order arrived, so the viceroy appointed his own brother Dom

João d'Azevedo captain of Mozambique for one year, and recalled Dom Estevão d'Ataide. Nothing of any consequence had been done since his return to Tete, and in July 1613 Dom Estevão laid down the command and set out for India, but died at Mozambique on the way, leaving property in gold, ivory, &c., worth one hundred and ten thousand cruzados, which the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto, who had been sent from India to conduct the usual examination into his conduct, placed in safe keeping.* It was subsequently confiscated for the benefit of the royal treasury, and was used to pay for repairing the fortifications of Mozambique. The death of Dom Estevão saved him from the punishment often inflicted upon the unsuccessful, whether they were guilty of misconduct or not. On the 8th of March 1613 the king wrote to the viceroy to have him arrested and tried for furthering his own interests at Tete instead of proceeding with the conquest and for having taken to the Zambesi a hundred and fifty disciplined soldiers from Fort São Sebastião and left in their stead only forty or fifty recruits, whereas he was under obligation to maintain at Mozambique two hundred soldiers and to employ five hundred in the expedition in search of the mines. If he was found guilty of these offences he was to be sent to Portugal a prisoner in chains. This was the fate designed by the king for the man who had so gallantly defended Mozambique against the Dutch, but who had failed to carry out an engagement to raise an army when neither volunteers nor pressed men were to be had.

Diogo Madeira with the slender force under his command now undertook the enterprise in which two officers of superior rank and authority had failed. On the 10th of August 1613, having received transfer of the soldiers and a trifling quantity of military stores, he left Sena to proceed up the

* The chronicler of these events in one place incidentally states that eighteen maticals of gold were equal to nearly thirty cruzados, so that this amount would represent about £29,500. Whenever the cruzado of King Sebastião is meant it is termed a cruzado d'ouro.

river in boats, but had hardly set out when he encountered opposition. There was a clan living close to Sena under a chief named Tshombe, who during the recent disturbances had come under the protection of the Portuguese, and had agreed to pay as tribute a certain quantity of millet yearly. Seeing the weakness of his protectors now that the civil war in the country was ended, this man was disposed to assert his independence, and when the new commander called upon him to pay his tribute and to surrender some fugitive slaves whom he was harbouring, he refused to comply. He even attempted to prevent the flotilla passing up the river until a toll was paid to him, but was defeated in an engagement, and the boats proceeded onward.

As it was necessary to keep open the communication by the Zambesi with the sea, on his arrival at Tete Diogo Madeira raised as large an army as he could to proceed against Tshombe. It consisted of one hundred European and mixed-breed arquebusiers and six thousand Bantu warriors from the lands of Tete and Inyabanzo. With these he marched down the river bank and attacked his opponent, who was found entrenched in a very strong lager and well supplied with means of defence. The attack failed, and all the men that could be collected at Sena, consisting of forty arquebusiers and three thousand Kaffirs under a friendly chief named Kwitambo, were then summoned to assist. Again an attempt to take the lager by storm was unsuccessful, so it was besieged for over two months in the hope of starving the defenders. In an assault on the 16th of November some advantage was gained, and that night Tshombe and a few of his followers made their way through the blockading force and escaped. On Sunday the 17th of November the Portuguese obtained possession of the lager, and secured as spoil some ivory and loincloths of native manufacture, besides eight thousand adults and as many children, who were made slaves. Fifty soldiers were left in the lager to prevent its being reoccupied, and Tshombe was pursued until nearly all of his warriors were slain. The territory he had occupied

was then given to Kwitambo, who engaged to pay yearly tribute for it, and Diogo Madeira with his army returned to Tete.

Here he was gladdened by a message from the monomotapa that if he would pay the quantity of merchandise usually given by those entering office he might take possession of Tshikova in peace. Goods to the value of four thousand cruzados were at once forwarded, and in return a man of rank was sent by the Karanga ruler to transfer the district supposed to contain the silver mines. Accordingly, on the 15th of April 1614 Diogo Madeira left Tete with a hundred soldiers, six hundred Bantu warriors, and a number of slaves carrying stores, and on the 8th of May reached Tshikova, where he set about building a fort or stockaded enclosure which he named São Miguel. The envoy of the monomotapa was with him, but could not point out a mine, and the chief of the locality fled as soon as the object of the expedition became known. On being applied to, the monomotapa sent a piece of silver ore weighing about a quarter of a kilogramme, and with it a man named Tsherema, who had found it at Tshikova; but Tsherema could only point out loose pieces of ore, not a mine. Diogo Madeira caused him to be beaten and imprisoned, but to no purpose, for he was never able to show his tormentors what they so much desired to see.

The northern bank of the Zambesi opposite Tshikova was occupied by an independent chief named Sapoe, who professed to be a friend of the Portuguese. He gave them permission to trade freely in his country, and offered them a road through it to Tete. Diogo Madeira availed himself of this, and a path was explored on the Bororo side of the river past the rapids of Kebrabasa to navigable water. With Sapoe's consent a stockade, named Santo Antonio, was built and occupied opposite São Miguel, so that the ferry was completely under Portuguese control. Fort Santo Estevão farther down on the southern side was destroyed, as there were no men to occupy it.

Being without means either to explore the country or even to feed those who were with him, as no aid of any kind had yet reached him from Portugal or India, on the 24th of June Diogo Madeira was compelled to leave for Tete and Sena, taking with him nearly the whole of his people. During his absence Diogo Teixeira Barros, with forty-four soldiers and some slaves, was entrusted with the defence of the stockades São Miguel and Santo Antonio. On arriving at Sena, instead of finding the assistance he was hoping for, Madeira received instructions from the king that he must send the soldiers brought by Dom Estevão d'Ataide back to Mozambique, as that island was in danger of being attacked. In consequence of this order thirty were despatched in a pangayo, all that could be mustered, as some had died and the others were at Tshikova. Nothing could illustrate better than this event the exhausted condition of Portugal at the time.

The captain still hoped that a supply of merchandise would be sent from India to enable him to carry on his work, so he resolved to keep the monomotapa in good humour by means of presents and to engage every resident along the river that would enter his service. He therefore sent the great chief a silken banner, a gold head ornament, and a small quantity of cloth, with a complimentary message; but as the whole was of trifling value it was regarded with contempt by the Karanga ruler, who imprisoned the men that took it to him and made a demand for a number of articles that he named. To obtain these Diogo Madeira was obliged to compel such inhabitants of Sena as were in possession of goods to sell them to him on credit without any prospect of payment being ever made, and thus he created enemies when he sorely needed friends. The monomotapa, however, appeared to be appeased, and released his prisoners, so Madeira set out on his return to the stockade São Miguel with all the men and stores he had been able to collect.

Meantime Barros found himself in great difficulties at Tshikova. He was so badly in want of food that he was

compelled to take it by force from the blacks, which naturally aroused their enmity. Then the son of the monomotapa who had been baptized with the name of Philippe having displeased his father fled to Fort São Miguel and claimed protection. This was given to him, upon which the monomotapa sent an army to destroy the stockade. On the 18th of March 1615 it was attacked, but was successfully defended until the 20th, when Diogo Madeira arrived at Santo Antonio with the reinforcements he had collected, and while he was crossing the river with them the hostile army withdrew.

There was now a small band of Portuguese with a considerable number of slaves, having provisions for only a few months, in an advanced stockade in an enemy's country. A line of retreat was open by crossing the river and marching down its northern bank past the rapids, and then recrossing to Tete. There defence for a long time was possible, as a strong Bantu force could be raised from the subject clans and in the district of Inyabanzo, and in case of necessity the river would furnish conveyance to Sena and the sea. Under these circumstances Diogo Madeira decided to remain where he was until aid could reach him from Portugal or India. He sent the young chief Philippe to Tete, and provided for his maintenance there, as his friendship might be of importance at some future time. He then caused as thorough a search as was possible to be made by men who were without experience or special knowledge in the vicinity of the stockade, and though nothing that could be called a mine was discovered, the prisoner Tsherema pointed out a place where several loose pieces of rich silver ore were picked up, some weighing many kilogrammes.

To send specimens of these to Lisbon and to Goa, and thus to create such an interest in the undertaking as would cause sufficient assistance to be sent to him, was now the first object of Diogo Madeira. This was not so easy of accomplishment as might be supposed. It was believed that the jealousy of Ruy de Mello de Sampayo, who in 1615

became captain of Mozambique,* would be aroused by the intelligence, and that the specimens would probably never get beyond that island except as coming from him. To meet this difficulty Gaspar Bocarro, a faithful friend of Diogo Madeira, volunteered to go overland to some port high up on the eastern coast, and thence by way of the Red sea and the Mediterranean to Portugal. He was an old inhabitant of the country, and as he was wealthy he offered to perform this service at his own cost and in addition to contribute two thousand cruzados towards the maintenance of Fort São Miguel during his absence. At the same time the Dominican friar Francisco d'Avelar offered to proceed to India by way of Mozambique and thence to Portugal, trusting that his habit would protect him from interference on the way.

In February 1616 the two envoys set out, each taking with him a quantity of silver ore and attested certificates that it had been found at Tshikova. The friar reached Goa in safety, and after delivering a report to the viceroy, proceeded to Lisbon and thence to Madrid, where the specimens and documents which he produced caused great satisfaction to the king and the court.

* The following are the principal clauses of the contract entered into with him by the government at Lisbon, dated 17th of March 1614. His three years term of office was to commence on the day that he took formal possession of the fortress. He was to pay annually 40,000 xerafins of 300 reis each (about £7,500). All the expenses of the forts constructed for the defence of the trade, including the pay of the troops necessary for that purpose, were to be defrayed by him. The ordinary expenses of the fortress of Mozambique and of the hospital at that place were to be defrayed by him, but were to be deducted from the 40,000 xerafins, and the balance was to be sent to Goa. He was not to be present, personally or by representative, when the duty of one per cent was being levied on his merchandise. All the usual presents to the chiefs of the interior were to be sent by him, at the proper times, at his own cost. He was to take over his predecessor's stock of goods. He was to have the sole right to trade upon the banks of the rivers Zambesi and Sofala (the whole country southward being included). He was authorised to seize and appropriate any merchandise taken into the country without his permission.

Gaspar Bocarro, who was an experienced African traveller, took with him ten or twelve slaves to carry the specimens of ore, a quantity of beads, some calico, and a thousand bracelets of copper wire. With this merchandise he procured food, guides, and porters, and so made his way without difficulty from Tete to the southern extremity of Lake Nyassa. He crossed the Shire—called the Nhanha in his journal—in canoes close to its outflow from the lake,* and proceeding upward between the eastern side of Nyassa and the coast, was ferried over other rivers named the Ruambara and the Rofuma. Part of the country on his route was found still a desert waste, as it had been left by the Mazimba. On the fifty-third day after his departure from Tete he reached Kilwa, where he procured a conveyance to Mombasa. Here he found it would be impossible to go up the Red sea, on account of wars then being carried on in those parts, so with much regret he went to Mozambique and thence returned to the Zambesi.

While the envoys were on their way Diogo Madeira tried to make the best of matters at his stockades. He dared not go far from São Miguel, but in its vicinity more pieces of silver ore were found, which were sent down to Tete and exchanged for calico, so that he was able for a time to obtain provisions. In January 1616 he had been joined by the Dominican friar João dos Santos, who had petitioned to be sent from India to South-Eastern Africa as soon as he heard that the monomotapa Gasilusere had consented to two of his sons being educated as Christians. His experience, he thought, might even be instrumental in converting the

* This journey of Gaspar Bocarro does not detract in the least degree from the merit of the reverend Dr. Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyassa. The great missionary traveller first saw the outflow of the Shire on the 16th of September 1859, two hundred and forty-three years after Bocarro was at the same spot. But the account given here was then buried in the Portuguese archives, and was entirely unknown to any one. Besides, though it is easy now to follow Bocarro's route from his description of it, it would have been impossible to do so before Dr. Livingstone's minute description of the country was published.

monomotapa himself. His provincial consented, and the king ordered his expenses to be defrayed by the royal treasury and that he should be employed on some official mission to the monomotapa that would add to his dignity and influence. Dos Santos was an old man when he reached the Zambesi again, and he must have been bitterly disappointed with the turn affairs had taken. He was, however, as full of zeal as in his younger years, and when a message reached him at Sena that the departure of Francisco d'Avelar would leave the defenders of the stockade São Miguel without a spiritual comforter, he did not hesitate, but proceeded up the river to the lonely post to minister to them and to share their discomforts.

Some time before the friar Francisco d'Avelar reached Goa with the specimens of silver ore, Dom Jeronymo d'Azevedo had received bitter complaints from the traders whose merchandise Diogo Madeira had practically seized by force, and also from the residents of Mozambique concerning similar conduct by the captain Ruy de Mello de Sampayo. The viceroy, therefore, by the advice of the council of state, appointed the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto a commissioner to investigate matters in South-Eastern Africa, and gave him very large powers to settle disorder of every kind. He was also supplied with calico and beads for the expedition under Diogo Madeira, in case he should think it proper to assist that enterprise. The judge was accompanied by one of his friends named Salvador Vaz da Guerra. He arrived at Mozambique in March 1616, where he summarily dismissed Ruy de Mello de Sampayo from office, and appointed Da Guerra in his stead. He then went on to the Zambesi, and arrived at Kilimane in May.

By this time the garrison of Fort São Miguel was reduced to great distress. The summer had been so intensely hot that for weeks together to touch a stone exposed to the sun's rays caused the skin to blister, and sickness had prevailed to an alarming extent. Most of the able-bodied slaves had run away, those who remained could not venture

outside the stockade, and so great was the scarcity of food that if not relieved the place must soon be abandoned from hunger. There were only forty-four soldiers left to guard it. As soon therefore as Diogo Madeira heard that a commissioner with extensive powers had arrived at the rivers he wrote urging that assistance should be forwarded without delay, but received no reply.

Instead of sending at least some calico that food might be purchased with it, the judge passed a couple of months at Sena and Tete, exchanging the merchandise he had brought from India for gold and ivory. He was able to do this to unusual advantage, as for two years in succession the trading vessels from Mozambique had been lost, and calico and beads were in great demand. He listened to all the complaints against Diogo Madeira, and without a trial confiscated his property at Tete and made his nephew a prisoner. On the 1st of August 1616 he left Tete for Tshikova with a hundred and fifty soldiers and two thousand Kaffirs, but when he was within a day's march of Fort São Miguel Diogo Madeira, fearing to place himself in the power of a man who had acted in so hostile a manner, crossed the river to the stockade Santo Antonio, though he left the soldiers behind. On learning this, the judge at once returned to Tete.

All hope of retaining the position at Tshikova was now abandoned. The soldiers had parted with their shirts for food, and were half naked as well as more than half starved. Mass was said for the last time in the little structure used as a church, and then Dos Santos with a heavy heart stripped the altar of its ornaments and removed whatever could be taken away. Some slave women and children were first ferried over to Santo Antonio, the soldiers followed, and last of all Diogo Madeira himself bade farewell to the stockade he had held so long in hope of relief being sent to him. It was the 17th of August 1616. On the 18th Santo Antonio was in like manner abandoned, and the party commenced to march down the bank of the river. The

soldiers were so weak that two of them died before they reached the ferry below the rapids. Diogo Madeira retired to his district of Inyabanzo, where he remained for a time, and the others went to Tete.

The judge now pronounced the discovery of silver ore at Tshikova to be a fable, as the pieces found had probably been carried there from some other place, and he induced the soldiers to sign a document to that effect. Diogo Madeira he proclaimed an outlaw. The monomotapa, who had already destroyed the abandoned stockade São Miguel, sent an army against the unfortunate captain, and he was obliged to leave Inyabanzo and take refuge with the chief Kwitambo near Sena until the judge returned to Mozambique, when he went back to Tete an utterly ruined man. The Karanga army overran Inyabanzo and the territory subject to Tete, until nothing was left to the Portuguese but the fort and the village adjoining it, and even these might have been lost if the residents had not appeased the monomotapa with presents.

The government at Lisbon disapproved of these proceedings, and instructions were sent to the viceroy to cause the judge Francisco da Fonseca Pinto to be tried by the inquisitor general of India for his conduct, to restore Ruy de Mello de Sampayo to the captaincy of Mozambique for the time wanting to complete his term of three years, and to place Diogo Madeira again in his former position, with means necessary to carry out his enterprise. In accordance with these instructions, in January 1618 some calico was sent from India, and when it reached Sena Diogo Madeira endeavoured to raise and equip another expedition. A few soldiers arrived from Mozambique to take part in it, but before anything of consequence could be done a complete change was made.

It was first resolved to form a separate government of South-Eastern Africa, as in the time of King Sebastião, and a new viceroy of India was appointed and left for Goa under this arrangement; but on the 10th of March 1618 the

king wrote to him that the plan had been abandoned. Instead of it a governor of Monomotapa was appointed, who was to reside at Tshikova and carry out the conquest of the district in which the mines were situated. Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, then commander in chief at Ceylon, was the officer selected for the situation. He was to take with him the seasoned troops at Mozambique, whose places were to be supplied by recruits sent from Lisbon, and the viceroy was directed to aid him with trustworthy officers, soldiers, sailors, materials of war, and provisions, at the expense of the treasury of India. Skilled miners and smelters were to be sent from Portugal and also from India to search the country and develop its mineral wealth. Commerce was to be carried on by the royal treasury, and was to be under the control of Antonio de Maris Lobo, who was appointed overseer of the revenue of Monomotapa. Towards defraying the cost of all this, twenty-two thousand cruzados would be sent from Lisbon, with which merchandise was to be purchased and sent to the Zambesi, there to be used in providing for the conquest. The viceroy was to furnish presents for the monomotapa and other rulers in the country. Dom Luis de Menezes, or in his default Dom Alvaro da Costa, was to be appointed commander of the garrison of Mozambique, subordinate to the governor of Monomotapa, as the captain of Sofala was also to be. Diogo Simões Madeira was to be retained in favour, and was to be induced to assist in carrying out the conquest.

These instructions are a fair sample of those commonly sent by the king to India at this period. They were written as if almost unlimited resources were at the disposal of the viceroy, whereas it was frequently a matter of the greatest difficulty for him to meet the most essential expenses of his government. The royal orders therefore do not represent what was really done, or what could possibly be done, but merely what the viceroy, without any means to carry them out, was directed to do. In 1618 Portuguese India had not resources equal to effecting an extensive

conquest in South-Eastern Africa, even if it could have been done with two hundred soldiers, as an enthusiastic writer, Diogo da Cunha de Castelbranco, believed it might be, provided sufficient calico was supplied for presents to the chiefs.

In February 1619 Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira reached Goa from Ceylon, and soon afterwards sailed for Mozambique with as many men and as good an equipment as the viceroy could furnish him with, though both were inadequate for the task he had in hand. Pangayos were procured at the island, the men and stores were transferred to them, the seasoned troops in Fort São Sebastião were embarked, and the expedition left for the Zambesi. The details of events after its arrival cannot be given, as the reports and journals of occurrences have disappeared, and Bocarro's chronicle does not extend so far. But it succeeded no better than its predecessors, and no silver mine was found nor was a square metre of ground added to the Portuguese dominions by it.

In January 1620 two vessels were sent from Lisbon with supplies of different kinds for the expedition, and with instructions to Dom Nuno to fortify the entrances to the Zambesi, as the Dutch coveted the mines of Monomotapa and might at any time endeavour to get possession of them. This order could not be carried out for want of means. The Dutch frequently landed at places along the coast and traded with the inhabitants, chiefly for provisions, and it was out of the power of the Portuguese to prevent them doing so; but at this time they made no effort to occupy any part of South-Eastern Africa.

Two years later it was recognised in Portugal that the expedition was a failure, and that the expense of maintaining it was too great a drain upon the treasury to be continued. The trade too, as conducted by the government, had resulted only in loss. With the ships that left Lisbon early in 1622, therefore, instructions were sent by the king to the viceroy to recall Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira * to India and to desist

* This officer evidently thought something could be made in Africa, for a few years later he petitioned the king to grant him on feudal

from any further attempt to effect a conquest in the monomotapa's country. Everything was to revert to the former condition, when the captains of Mozambique, under the direction of the viceroy, had control of civil and military affairs, and held a monopoly of commerce south of the Zambesi on payment of forty thousand cruzados a year to the royal treasury and keeping up the establishments.

Nuno da Cunha was appointed captain under this system. He was directed to persevere in the effort to discover the silver mines, but by means of peaceful exploration and conciliation of the monomotapa. For this purpose not only were the presents made to that ruler according to ancient custom to be forwarded to him, but two horses with equipments and some fine cloth were to be added. Further two Portuguese who were particularly obnoxious to him were to be banished from the country. The knowledge and diligence of Diogo Simões Madeira, who had conducted himself in such a manner as to deserve favour, were to be made use of, and in addition to the often-repeated promise of the rank of a nobleman was now added that of a commandery with a revenue of two thousand cruzados a year if he should succeed in finding the silver mines and bringing them into working order. The new captain was to make enquiries about the mines from which the copper used by the Makaranga was obtained, and to ascertain whether they could be acquired and worked to advantage.

The order that the captain of Mozambique should use every effort to make these discoveries was frequently repeated during the following years. Diogo Madeira persevered in the endeavour, and though in 1624, owing to certain proposals that he made, he fell into disfavour with the viceroy, who intended to have him arrested and sent out of the country, the king continued to hold out tempting offers

tenure four hundred leagues of coast from Inhambane towards the Cape of Good Hope, of which he and his heirs should be hereditary captains. The petition was under consideration for a time, but eventually was rejected. We shall meet him again as captain of Mozambique.

to him if he should succeed. But no silver mines were ever discovered by the Portuguese along the Zambesi above Tete, nor was it ascertained whether the loose pieces of ore which beyond all doubt were found at Tshikova were there in situ or had been brought from some other locality.

While everything was thus in turmoil along the Zambesi the Dominicans were unable to carry on their mission work among the Makaranga, but they were active at Sena and Tete, and some of them accompanied the Portuguese forces wherever they went. In 1605 they had been reinforced from Europe, and by order of the king those who went out were not permitted to return again unless under special circumstances. When the first expedition under Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira was sent from India by the archbishop De Menezes some members of the Company of Jesus went with it, but the Dominicans, fearing complications, objected to their rivalry. The king therefore, on the 23rd of January 1610, issued instructions that they alone were to labour in Africa south of the Zambesi, still the Jesuits did not entirely withdraw, and at a little later date they were in considerable strength at Sena. For the support of the Dominicans Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira made considerable grants of land, though as these were still to be conquered their value was purely prospective. From the royal treasury the missionaries received such a trifling allowance that for their maintenance they were chiefly dependent on alms.

The design of King Sebastião half a century earlier concerning the ecclesiastical government of South-Eastern Africa was at this time carried into completion. On the 21st of January 1612 at the request of the king Pope Paul V separated the country from Cape Guardafui to the Cape of Good Hope from the archbishopric of Goa, and created the office of ecclesiastical administrator for it, with powers, however, somewhat less than those of an ordinary bishop. The friar Dom Domingos Terrado, titular bishop of Sale, was appointed to the office, with a yearly salary from the royal treasury of two hundred thousand reis, about £125 sterling.

The island of Mozambique, as the seat of the civil and military government, was selected as his place of residence.

At Sofala nothing of any consequence had happened for many years. Being in the territory of the kiteve and unaffected by occurrences in the monomotapa's country, commerce could be carried on with the Bantu just as when the friar João dos Santos lived there. Owing to fear of an attack by the Dutch, in 1615 the fort was put into repair, and thereafter fifteen or twenty soldiers were stationed in it as a garrison. The pangayo with goods from Mozambique once a year formed the principal means of communication with the outer world, though the little vessel that traded at Inhambane and Delagoa Bay every second or third year sometimes called on her passage up or down the coast. In all the world there could not have been a duller place of existence for Europeans.

The journey of Gaspar Bocarro from Tete to Kilwa had drawn the momentary attention of the king and his court to the country north of the Zambesi, but no steps whatever were taken to form stations in it or to open it to commerce by any other means than before. An order was indeed issued by the king that the captain Nuno da Cunha should endeavour to ascertain whether the lake (Nyassa) would not furnish a road to Abyssinia, but with that order the matter ended. The Portuguese were no longer a nation of explorers.

CHAPTER XVIII.

EVENTS OF INTEREST IN PORTUGUESE SOUTH AFRICA FROM 1628 TO 1652.

THE great tribe over which the monomotapa ruled was about to be involved again in civil war, and the Portuguese traders at Sena and Tete were once more to acquire an influence in the country altogether out of proportion to their number, even if each one be regarded as a chief and his slaves as a clan of followers, which was practically their position. Kapranzine, son and successor of Gasilusere, showed himself most unfriendly to the Europeans. One of his near relatives, whose name is given by different writers as Manuza and Mavura, was possessed of much more intelligence, and had incurred his extreme jealousy. This man, under the instruction of the Dominican friar Manuel Sardinha, showed an inclination towards Christianity, and was therefore made much of by the Portuguese.

In November 1628 Jeronymo de Barros, an agent of Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira, who had recently assumed duty as captain of Mozambique, arrived at the great place, bringing with him the present which it was necessary to make to the monomotapa for the privilege of trading in his territory. Whether the quantity or quality of the merchandise forming the present was such as to cause Kapranzine to be dissatisfied is uncertain, at any rate immediately after receiving it he sent messengers through the country with orders that upon a certain day all the Portuguese and their friends were to be put to death. André Ferreira, the captain of the gates, who happened to be at the great place when this order was issued, was informed of it by some faithful servants, and that night with the Bantu who were

threatened he managed to get away to Masapa, where the stockade constructed by Diogo Carvalho was hastily prepared for defence. De Barros and his attendants were murdered, as they were unable to escape. Messengers were immediately sent out by Ferreira to warn the traders scattered over the country, and in a very short time all the Christians and their adherents—including Manuza—were collected either at Masapa or at Luanze, where another rude fort was built.

The monomotapa despatched a great force against these places, but as the defenders fought desperately for their lives, the assailants were beaten back. Several Europeans, however, fell. Meantime the Portuguese at Sena and Tete, having received intelligence of what was transpiring, assembled their people and raised an additional force of Batonga, at whose head they marched to Luanze to assist their countrymen. The defenders of the stockade were relieved, and then by advice of the friars in the camp a very decisive step was taken. Manuza was proclaimed monomotapa, the banner of the cross was raised, and the army, having elected a man named Manuel Gomes Serrão commander in chief, marched against Kapranzine. The two forces met, and Kapranzine was defeated.

The baffled monomotapa retired deeper into the country, and raised a still larger army, with which he returned and twice attacked the Christian camp, but on each occasion was beaten back. Then Manuza took possession of the great place, and was acknowledged as paramount chief by most of the surrounding clans.

On the 24th of May 1629 a document was drawn up, in which the new Karanga ruler acknowledged himself a vassal of the king of Portugal. He promised to allow the missionaries to build churches and make converts anywhere in his country, to receive ambassadors without obliging them to go through humiliating ceremonies, to treat the captain of Masapa with great respect and to admit him to an interview at any time without a present, to open his country freely to

commerce, to protect traders, and not to shelter fugitive slaves. He undertook not to alienate gold mines to powerful chiefs, to allow mines of all descriptions to be sought for and worked by the Portuguese, and especially to enquire where silver was to be found, to inform the captain of Masapa of the places, and to allow the Portuguese to dig for it without any impediment. He engaged also to expel all the Mohamedans from his country within a year, and to permit the Portuguese afterwards to kill them and confiscate their property. He surrendered his claim to the lands at one time subject to the captain of Tete, and bound himself to send three pieces of gold to every new captain of Mozambique.

The whole army was drawn up, and the document having been read, Manuza was asked by the captain Serrão if he agreed to these conditions. Naturally he replied that he did. The friar Luis do Espirito Santo then wrote under it "Manuza, Emperor of Monomotapa," to which with his own hand he affixed a cross. Then followed the signatures of Manuel Gomes Serrão, chief captain in the war, Friar Gonçalo Ribeiro, vicar of Masapa, and sixteen other Portuguese. But it matters little with what formality the document was attested. It is evident that it was of very little value, for its terms—whether committed to writing or merely verbal—would be observed as long as Portuguese assistance was needed, and not a day longer.

A little later, eight months after he had been raised to the chieftainship, Manuza consented to profess Christianity openly, and was baptized with as much pomp as possible by the friar Luis do Espirito Santo, vicar of Tete. He received the name Philippe, which Portuguese writers thereafter used when mentioning him.

The government at Madrid regarded the document to which he had affixed his mark as of equal validity with an agreement between two European powers. In the opinion of the king the time had at last arrived when the mineral wealth of the Karanga country was at his disposal, and pompous orders were issued to the viceroy of India to take

measures for the discovery and opening up of the gold, silver, and copper mines. He was also to build a stronghold in the best place to keep the monomotapa in submission, and the old instructions were repeated to fortify the mouths of the Kilimane and the Luabo. As the monomotapa was now a vassal, the presents formerly made for the privilege of carrying on commerce would no longer be required, and the money thus saved, together with the amount obtained for the lease of the islands of Angosha, could be used in defraying the cost of the fortifications. The three pieces of gold received as tribute were to be sent to the king, who would make a present to the monomotapa in return. That potentate was to be invested with the order of Christ, and permission was given to him to trade in cloth on his own account to the value of three or four thousand maticals of gold.

These instructions were issued by the king in April 1631. But matters were not yet settled in the Karanga country, and thus, even if he had possessed the means in men and money to carry them out, the viceroy was unable at the time to do anything. Manuza, after occupying the great place and receiving the homage of a number of clans, neglected to watch Kapranzine closely, and the result was a sudden surprise, in which nearly the whole of the Europeans and half-breeds in the country and a great number of Bantu were killed, and the friars Luis do Espirito Santo and João da Trindade were made prisoners. The last named was badly wounded, but the barbarians subjected him to torture, and finally before he was quite dead threw him over a precipice where he was dashed to pieces. Luis do Espirito Santo, who was a native of Mozambique, was taken into Kapranzine's presence, and was ordered to make the usual obeisance. This he refused to do, as he said that to such homage God alone was entitled. He was then bound to the trunk of a tree, and stabbed with assagais till life was extinct. All the Bantu who were made prisoners were likewise put to death.

Kapranzine appeared now to be master of the situation. Many of the clans that had submitted to Manuza went over

to him, and the few Portuguese that remained—only twenty at Sena, thirteen at Tete, five at one trading station, and six and a Jesuit father at another—were too disheartened at the moment to attempt anything. The tshikanga also, ruler of Manika, declared in favour of Kapranzine, and sent an army to support him.

Diogo de Sousa e Menezes was then captain of Mozambique, Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira having died. He called out every man that could carry an arquebus, and sailed with them to the Zambesi, where he raised a large force of Bantu warriors from those living on the island of Luabo. Having brought the disturbed districts adjoining Sena into subjection, he marched to Manika, where he overthrew the unfriendly tshikanga, put him to death, and raised one of his brothers, who made a profession of Christianity and was baptized, to be chief as a vassal of Portugal. In the mean time the friar Manuel Sardinha, a man of great force of character, had got together an army of twenty thousand men, chiefly from the tribes along the Zambesi who were at feud with the Makaranga, and who were willing therefore to espouse the cause of Manuza. The two forces joined and marched against Kapranzine. The friar who was the chronicler of these occurrences relates that when they were setting out Philippe—as Manuza was called—looked up and saw a resplendent cross in the sky. Thereupon he sent for the father Manuel Sardinha, who was not with him at the time, but who also saw the cross on joining him. It was similar to that which appeared before the emperor Constantine, except that there were no words beneath it.

It may have been that some fleecy white clouds drifting across the deep blue African sky appeared to the heated imaginations of the friar and the Karanga chief to assume the form of a cross, for it is not likely that a deliberate untruth was placed on record by the Dominican missionary who reported this event. Be that as it may, the apparition is said to have given such courage to the whole body of warriors, all of whom saw it, that they marched on with

the greatest confidence. On the feast of Saint John the two armies met, and a tremendous battle was fought, in which, according to the account of the Portuguese captain, the saint himself appeared and assisted the Christian cause. A brilliant victory was won, the carnage being so great that no fewer than thirty-five thousand of the enemy were slain. It will not do to be certain about the number of the killed, but the defeat of Kapranzine and his flight are assured facts.

Much booty in women, children, and cattle was obtained. Kapranzine's son of highest rank, a young boy, was among the prisoners. He was sent to Goa, where he was entrusted by the viceroy to the Dominican fathers, by whom he was baptized with the name Miguel, and educated and maintained by the royal treasury.

The hostile monomotapa, however, was not utterly overthrown. He had still the support of a very able chief named Makamoasha and many others of less note, and he gave a great deal of trouble before the war was ended. It must be remembered that no force supplied by the Portuguese government, other than a few men from Mozambique, was in the field. The contest was between two members of the ruling family of the Karanga tribe for the paramount chieftainship, and the weaker of the two was aided by a little band of Portuguese missionaries and other residents in the country. But these few white men and half-castes were able to turn the scale in favour of the chief whose cause they adopted, because they could obtain the service of warriors of other and braver tribes who would follow them out of a desire to wash their assagais in Karanga blood, and because they could procure firelocks and gunpowder. In the final battle, which ended in complete victory for Manuza, as many as two hundred men on his side were armed with Portuguese weapons.

The Dominican friars regarded the contest as a holy war, for it was certain that if Kapranzine was successful their work in the Karanga country would cease. The part taken

by Manuel Sardinha has been related. Another friar, Damião do Espirito Santo, was equally active in raising men, and it was by a force of six thousand robust warriors brought into the field by him that Philippe—or Manuza—was at length firmly secured in the position of monomotapa. The Portuguese laymen and the mixed breeds served their own interests when aiding him, because by that means alone was it possible for them to continue there as traders. Their position at this time was better than at any previous period since the first occupation of the country, for Kapranzine, though in very reduced circumstances, was still alive, and Manuza, being dependent on them, was obliged to bestow whatever favours they chose to ask. The former trading stations were reoccupied, and new ones were established at Matuka, Dambarare, Tshipiriviri, Umba, and Tshipangura, situated in different parts of the country.

The Dominican missionaries also were able to extend their work greatly. A commencement was made with the erection of a church at Manuza's place of residence, in recognition of the help which he had received from the Almighty against his opponent, and the chief himself laid the foundation stone in presence of a great assembly of people. The friar Aleixo dos Martyres took up his residence there, and nine others of the same order came from Goa and were stationed at various trading places. The vicar general, Manuel da Cruz, removed from Tete to Matuka in the district of Manika, in order to be in a more central position. At Luanze a neat church was built, but at the other trading stations it was only possible to construct buildings of wattles covered with clay.

The Dominicans were naturally affected by the prostration of the wealth and power of Portugal, but they had a reserve force which supported them for a time. The most intelligent and energetic individuals in the kingdom, looking with despair upon the apathy and feebleness that had taken hold of the great mass of their countrymen, sought refuge in convents, where a life of activity and usefulness was

still open to them. General poverty alone prevented these institutions being more generally resorted to. At a little later date considerable numbers of Asiatics and Africans were admitted into the Dominican order, under the mistaken idea that they would be able to exert more influence in their respective countries than Europeans could, and then a failure of energy set in; but during the first half of the seventeenth century most of the missionaries south of the Zambesi were white men.

There were complaints against some of them that they were practically traders, but as a whole they worked zealously for the conversion of the Bantu, though at times they suffered even from want of food. Their observations upon the people among whom they were living are highly interesting. They state, for instance, that the Makaranga did not object to a profession of Christianity, but could not be induced to follow its precepts, especially in the matter of not taking more wives than one. The slight regard in which chastity of females was held surprised them, and they were particularly astonished that the men seemed almost indifferent to the misconduct of their wives. They noticed too that in war the men did not scruple to shield themselves behind their women, just as the Basuto often did in our times in their conflicts with the Orange Free State. Seeing these things, they set their hopes chiefly upon the children, whom they took great pains to instruct.

A better opportunity than ever before was now offered to search for mines, and rich specimens of several metals were forwarded to Lisbon. In none of the records still preserved and available for use, however, is there any trace of the ancient underground workings having been discovered. To assist in the search a few miners were sent out at the cost of Dom Philippe Mascarenhas, though he protested against the charge as not being mentioned in his contract, and because he was then giving as much for the monopoly of commerce south of the Zambesi every year, namely forty thousand pardaos, as his predecessors had

given for their whole term of office, besides maintaining the garrison of Mozambique, defraying all other expenses connected with the administration, and paying twenty per cent customs duties on the merchandise he imported from India.

The government at Madrid was of course highly elated with the prospect of wealth, and the most fantastic schemes were devised for opening up the country. Colonisation even was to be undertaken on a large scale. Thus, on the 24th of February 1635 the king wrote to the viceroy that two hundred soldiers and two hundred families of colonists would be sent from Portugal that year to settle along the Zambesi, and that others would follow with every fleet. They were to be accompanied by physicians, surgeons, women and girls from charitable institutions, and mechanics of all kinds, even to a gun founder. More Dominican and Jesuit missionaries would also proceed to the country, as well as some Capuchins. Two hundred mares would be sent, that horse-breeding might be carried on. A large quantity of artillery and other material of war would also be forwarded. On reading documents like this, so absurd do they appear from the condition of Portugal at the time, that one is inclined to doubt whether they were really intended to be serious state papers, or whether they merely represented the day dreams of children. At any rate the whole scheme came to nothing.

At the same time the viceroy was directed to have the search for mines carried on diligently, and to change the method of government of South-Eastern Africa. He was to appoint a governor of Monomotapa, subordinate to himself, and a castellan of Mozambique, subject to the governor. The system of carrying on trade was also to be altered. For a long time the king and his court had been endeavouring to devise some means of recovering the commerce of India from the English and Dutch, and in 1629 and following years an effort had been made to form a powerful Company for the purpose, in which the national treasury was to be the

principal participant, and the cities of Portugal and India, as well as individuals, were to be shareholders. There was to be a chamber in Goa to manage local matters, but the controlling power was to be vested in a board of directors at Lisbon. The effort to form such a Company, however, had failed; and now the king instructed the viceroy to throw open the commerce of South-Eastern Africa to all his subjects upon payment of customs duties. This order for some unknown reason was not carried into execution.

The subject of fortifications was also dealt with. In 1632, owing to a report that the English were fitting out an expedition to survey the East African coast, the king announced that a couple of small vessels would be sent from Lisbon to Sofala with men and munitions of war to protect that place, and that the outgoing fleet would convey reinforcements to Mozambique. It had become a custom to employ convicts in oversea service, so that by emptying the prisons a few men could be had at any time. But Sofala remained without a garrison, notwithstanding this announcement. A couple of years later an engineer named Bartholomeu Cotão was sent with a few assistants from Lisbon, some Indian carpenters were despatched from Goa, and at last a small fort of stakes and earth was constructed at Kilimane. This was the most that could be done, but in the king's letter of the 24th of February 1635 the viceroy was instructed to fortify Sofala strongly and station a garrison of two hundred soldiers there, and also to cause the mouths of the Zambesi to be well protected with defensive works. Such instructions, it must be repeated, were altogether illusory.

A report upon the condition of the country at this time, to be found in manuscript in the library of the British Museum, is particularly interesting, from the care which was taken in its preparation. It was drawn up in 1634 by order of the count of Linhares, viceroy of India, by his secretary Pedro Barreto de Rezende, who had visited the places he describes, and it was submitted for revision to



PHOTOGRAPH OF PLAN OF SOFALA IN 1634.

Antonio Bocarro, keeper of the archives at Goa, before it was sent to King Philippe III of Portugal.

Sofala is described in it as having a square fort of stone nine metres in height, with circular bastions at the corners, and nine small pieces of artillery on the walls. It was without other garrison than the captain and his servants, and had no stores either of provisions or materials of war. In the village adjoining it three married and two single Portuguese resided, who with their slaves and a few mixed breeds were its only defenders in case of war. The fort and village were on an island at high tide, formed by the river and a broad trench, as shown in the plan accompanying the description; but at low tide the trench was dry. A Dominican friar resided in the village, but there were very few Christian Bantu. The only commerce carried on was in ivory and ambergris. The kiteve, in whose dominions the fort was situated, had ten or twelve thousand warriors at his command, but was in general friendly to the Portuguese, and on payment of the usual quantity of merchandise allowed them to trade in freedom and safety.

Sena was a much more important place, though the old fort was out of repair and almost destroyed. There were thirty married Portuguese and mixed breeds in the village, who owned a large number of slaves, and there were no fewer than four churches, with religious of the Dominican order and the Company of Jesus. The principal building was the factory, which was under a tiled roof. It was a great warehouse, in which the goods of the captain of Mozambique were stored, and where merchandise was sold wholesale to the traders who traversed the country. There were two dwelling houses under tiles, all the others being thatched. Along the river up and down were great tracts of land, occupied by fully thirty thousand Bantu, that had been assigned to individual Portuguese, who, however, did not derive much benefit from them, as most of the Bantu were disobedient. This system was in accordance with feudal ideas, the persons to whom the districts were assigned

having extensive powers wherever the Bantu were submissive, but being themselves vassals of the captain of Sena. Among the owners of districts in this way was the Dominican order, whose claim was confirmed by the king in 1638.

At Tete there were twenty married Portuguese residents and a few half-breeds, all living within a kind of fort, which consisted of a wall a little over two metres high with six bastions, on which a few small pieces of artillery were mounted. They had many slaves under their control. Adjoining Tete were lands occupied by about eight thousand Bantu, parcelled out among individual Portuguese, like those connected with Sena.

Scattered over Manika and the country of the monomotapa were numerous so-called forts, which were really only palisaded enclosures or earthen walls, occupied by traders and their servants. At most of these Dominican friars also resided, who occupied themselves with the conversion of the Bantu. By the king's orders this field was open to them alone, though the Jesuits, who occupied Kilimane and the country to the northward, were permitted to have an establishment at Sena, and often evaded the command and stationed missionaries with the Makaranga. By a royal order the Dominicans were entitled to tithes in the country south of the Zambesi. The Jesuits had a large estate assigned to them on the island of Luabo, between two mouths of the great river, which was regarded as being within their sphere of action. The only soldiers in the whole country were thirty men who accompanied the monomotapa wherever he went, nominally as a body-guard to protect him and add to his dignity, really, it may be believed, to keep watch upon his movements.

There were still a good many Mohamedans scattered about, and they were regarded by the Portuguese as in general irreconcilable enemies. Those on the island of Luabo were said to be behaving well, but those in the monomotapa's territories had aided Kapranzine, and after his defeat were

reduced to abject circumstances. It had not been found possible to expel them.

The only courts of law open to Portuguese subjects in the country south of the Zambesi at this time were those of the captains of Sofala, Sena, and Tete. These officials were appointed by the captain of Mozambique, who selected them from the circle of his friends more to promote his interests in trade and to ward off hostilities with the Bantu whenever they could do so, than with an eye to their qualifications as magistrates. Under these circumstances it cannot be supposed that justice was at all times administered. There was, however, a right of appeal from the sentences of the captains to the judge at Mozambique, which may have prevented gross abuses.

This is the picture of Portuguese South Africa given by the most competent writer of his day, and certainly it differs greatly from that presented by the royal despatches.

Some wrecks which took place on the South African coast during these years furnish matter of sufficient interest to be preserved in history. That of the *São João Baptista* in 1622, and those of the *Nossa Senhora da Atalaya* and the *Sacramento* in 1647, will be referred to by me at sufficient length in a chapter upon the Xosa tribe in another volume; but two others remain, the narratives of which may here be given.

On the fourth of March 1630 the *São Gonçalo*, commanded by Captain Fernão Lobo de Menezes, sailed from Goa for Lisbon. On the passage she became leaky, and in the middle of June put into Bahia Ferosa—Plettenberg's Bay as now termed—in a sinking condition, to be repaired. For this purpose some of her cargo was landed, and more would have been if the officers had not shown themselves quarrelsome and incompetent for their duties. Some of the crew took up their residence on shore, but the greater number remained on board. Fifty days after her arrival in the bay the ship was lying at anchor off the mouth of the Pisang river when she was struck by a storm and driven ashore,

one hundred and thirty-three persons perishing in the wreck. The captain, five friars, and about a hundred men were on land at the time, and fortunately they were able to collect a quantity of provisions and a good supply of carpenter's tools when the storm ceased. In anticipation of being obliged to remain there until the change of the monsoon in September or October, they had made a garden, from which they obtained such vegetables as pumpkins, melons, onions, and cucumbers. From the bay they drew supplies of fish, and from the Hottentots, who were very friendly, they bartered a number of horned cattle and sheep for pieces of iron. They were thus enabled to put by much of the rice that had been landed before the wreck and such food in casks as drifted ashore, while they were building two large boats in which to make their escape.

The captain was old and feeble, so with his consent they elected Roque Borges to be their commander. There was plenty of good timber in the forest close by, and as much iron as they needed was obtained from fragments of the ship. For tar they used benzoin, recovered from the cargo, and mixed with the oil of seals, which they killed in great numbers on an islet off the mouth of the river. Having plenty of food they lived in comparative comfort, and they were not forgetful of the worship of God, for they built a chapel in which religious services were frequently held. Eight months passed away before the boats were completed and ready for sea. When all was prepared for sailing the friars erected a wooden cross on the site of their residence, and a rude inscription was engraved on a block of sandstone, recording the loss of the ship and the building of the pinnaces. Part of this stone was removed some years ago from the summit of a hill a little to the eastward of the mouth of the Pisang river, and is now in the South African Museum in Capetown.

Some of the people wished to proceed to Angola, others thought it would be better to return to Mozambique, so the two boats steered in opposite directions. The one reached

Mozambique safely, the other after a few days fell in with the homeward-bound ship *Santo Ignacio Loyola*, and her people were received on board. But these were less fortunate than the others, for they perished when near their homes by the loss of the ship that had apparently saved them.

The wreck of the *Nossa Senhora de Belem* was in many respects similar to that of the *São Gonçalo*. Where every one, as in Goa at that time, regarded bribery and corruption as the natural means of acquiring wealth, even a ship could **not** be sent to sea in a condition fit for a long passage. She would be repaired with rotten timber, her caulking would be defective, her rigging and stores would be of an inferior description. Thus the *Nossa Senhora de Belem*, commanded by Captain José de Cabreyra, sailed from Goa for Lisbon on the 24th of February 1635 shorthanded and quite unfit for navigation in stormy seas. As usual, a large proportion of those on board were negro slaves.

The ship soon became so leaky that it was with the greatest difficulty she could be kept afloat, and when she reached the South African coast the only hope of saving the lives of those on board was in running her ashore. Somewhere north of the mouth of the Umzimvubu river—the exact spot cannot be made out—she lay almost water-logged close to the coast, when a boat was got out, and the captain landed with a few men to look for a place where she could be beached with the least danger. Night came on, and some Kaffirs appeared, who attacked the little party, but they were easily driven away. In the morning those on board, fearing every moment that the ship would go down with them, waited no longer for the captain's signal, but ran her ashore, and fortunately for them she held together, so that no lives were lost.

Two hundred and seventy-two individuals, among whom were five friars, were now safe on land. For seventeen days they were engaged in getting provisions, tools, and other articles out of the wreck; then by an accident, either

from the party that had been on board during the day having left a candle burning or a fire in the stove, she caught alight and the whole upper part was consumed. This, however, turned out to be an advantage rather than a misfortune, as an abundance of nails and other iron was now easily obtained from the charred timber.

There was much difference of opinion as to the best course to be pursued, but at length they agreed to build a couple of small vessels and try to get to Angola. There was a river close by that offered a favourable site for a shipyard, and plenty of timber was to be had in the neighbourhood, so on the 20th of July they set about the task. Soon afterwards they were cheered by the appearance of a cabra, that is the son of a mulatto by a black woman, who called himself a Portuguese, and in broken language told them that his name was Antonio and that he had been wrecked in the *Santo Alberto* and left there by Nuno Velho Pereira's party that went to the north more than forty years before, when he was a boy. He was now wealthy and a man of influence. He was accompanied by a chief with a band of attendants, with whom an agreement of friendship was made. Through Antonio's influence and assistance no fewer than two hundred and nineteen head of cattle were obtained in barter for pieces of iron, which not only furnished plenty of fresh meat for the time being, but abundance of biltong, or strips of dried flesh, for provisioning the boats. After a time the shipwrecked men suspected Antonio of hostility, and there was some trouble with the Bantu; but their wants had then been supplied, and they were too strong to be attacked.

Six months were occupied in building and fitting out the vessels, which were decked and of such beam that they could carry the whole of the people. They were provisioned with eighty small bags of rice and a quantity of biltong. On the 28th of January 1636 they sailed from the river, but found the weather rough on the coast, and during the second night after leaving one of them disappeared and was

not seen again. The other, in which was Captain De Cabreyra, put into Algoa Bay on the passage, and forty-eight days after leaving the river reached Bengo Bay, close to the town of São Paulo de Loanda, with her provisions exhausted and without a drop of fresh water left. There, just in time, those on board were rescued from death by starvation and thirst, and soon afterwards they dispersed to different parts of the world.

In 1640 the revolution in Portugal took place which elevated the eighth duke of Bragança to the throne as King João IV. Margarida, duchess of Mantua, was then governing Portugal for Philippe III—the 4th of Spain,—and her court was almost entirely composed of Spanish grandees, who treated the Portuguese nobles with such disdain as to rouse their passion. The people were discontented, and attributed the poverty and distress they were suffering to the Castilian yoke which lay heavy upon them. Though under the same head for sixty years, they had never fraternised with the Spaniards, and the loss of their most valuable eastern possessions, which had been the result of the political union of the two countries, was ever in their minds.

The time was opportune for a revolution. The Catalans were in insurrection, and France could be depended upon to favour anything that would weaken the power of Spain. A number of Portuguese noblemen then conspired to eject the hated dynasty. On the 1st of December 1640 they seized the palace and forts in Lisbon and the Spanish armed ships in the Tagus, and made the duchess of Mantua a prisoner. A few of the Castilian officials were killed in the first moments of the rising, but most of them were merely placed in safe confinement. The duke of Bragança, though timid and half reluctant, had then no option but to ascend the throne, for he was the legitimate heir of the ancient kings, and his life would not have been worth a week's purchase if Philippe should recover his authority. On the 15th of December he was crowned in the cathedral of Lisbon, and the cortes, which met as soon as possible, unanimously took

an oath of allegiance to him on the 19th of January 1641. The whole country declared in his favour, the Spanish garrisons were expelled, and Portugal again took her place among the nations of Europe as an independent power. War with Spain followed as a matter of course, but João IV found powerful allies among the northern rulers, his people sprang to arms, and he was able to preserve the throne on which his descendants sat until 1910.

In India tidings of the successful revolution were received with the greatest joy. The silly orders of the Castilian monarchs sent through the regency at Lisbon, and the affectation of boundless wealth and numberless men being at the disposal of the viceroy, must have disgusted the officials everywhere. From the new monarch they had reason to expect instructions dictated by common sense, and indeed in his first letters to the viceroy he spoke plainly of his empty treasury and of the necessity there would be of observing the strictest economy in every part of his dominions. Then he was their own countryman, and blood cements loyalty.

Among the first of foreign powers to recognise him was the Republic of the United Netherlands, and on the 12th of June 1641 a truce for ten years was concluded between the two governments, in which, among other clauses, was one defining the Portuguese possessions in South-Eastern Africa that were thereafter to be respected by the Dutch. They were Mozambique, Kilimane, the rivers of Kuama, Sena, Sofala, Cape Correntes, and the adjacent rivers, by which were meant Imhambane and the bay of Lourenço Marques. This truce was broken a few years later through events that took place in Brazil, but while it was observed it was of much importance to the new king. It gave him sympathy and some practical assistance from the Dutch people in his struggle with Spain, and it freed the eastern possessions that were left to him from fear of attack, of which they had before been apprehensive. The king indeed was led even to hope that some of the ancient conquests, particularly Malacca, might be restored to Portugal. Still he was not without

some uneasiness when he reflected upon the defenceless condition of his dominions on the borders of the Indian sea, the activity of the Dutch in that part of the world, and his inability to afford any assistance, owing to his empty treasury. He therefore instructed the viceroy to keep a close watch upon the movements of the Dutch, but to act with the greatest caution, and to avoid everything that might irritate or offend any one.

The measures adopted by the government of King João IV with regard to South-Eastern Africa were not productive of good, however, much as the more honest and sensible tone of his despatches is to be admired. In December 1643 commerce between Portugal and India was declared free and open to all his subjects, with the single exception of the trade in cinnamon, which was reserved as a royal monopoly. This, to Englishmen of the present day, will appear a liberal measure. But there are circumstances when the admission of all persons under the same government to equal commercial rights may prove utterly ruinous to the class that ought to be encouraged most, and it would have been so in this instance in the country south of the Zambesi if the existing contracts with the prospective captains of Mozambique had not prevented its coming into operation for several years, and if in the mean time other measures had not been adopted. This will be dealt with more fully in another chapter.

In 1644 the slave trade between Mozambique and Brazil was opened by individual adventurers with the king's permission and encouragement. In these days such traffic is justly regarded with the greatest horror, but during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries not a voice appears to have been raised against it. It certainly was not looked upon as cruel or immoral to remove negroes from an environment of barbarism to a condition of subjection to Christian masters. The system brought upon the lands to which the slaves were taken a terrible and perpetual punishment, which ought to have been foreseen, but was not, or at least was disregarded

in the prospect of immediate gain. The proprietors of the prazos, or great estates, along the Zambesi had now a new source of wealth opened to them. Hitherto they had regarded the captives obtained in war and reduced to slavery as personal followers, and employed them as traders, soldiers, attendants, and so forth, he who had the greatest number being esteemed as the most wealthy and powerful. The blacks readily fell in with this system, which appeared to them natural and proper; and in general they were found faithful. It gave them what they needed: some one to think for them, some one to direct and look after them.

But after 1644 all this was changed. The Batonga and Makaranga who were made captives were considered as worth so many maticals of gold a head, and any that the owners did not care to keep were sent to Mozambique for sale, to serve in ships like the less intelligent Makua or to be conveyed to Brazil to work on plantations, in either case to be severed for life from early associations and companions. As time went on the abominable traffic grew larger and larger, until it became far the most important in money value of all the commerce of the Zambesi basin. There could be no extension of agriculture, no mining, no progress of any kind where it was so extensively carried on.

In 1644 there was a war between the kiteve and a chief named Sakandemo, in which the Portuguese took part on the side of the former. The result was the defeat of Sakandemo, the baptism of the kiteve with the name Sebastião, and his promise to regard himself thereafter as a vassal of Portugal. But conversions of this kind, however gratifying to the vanity of the Europeans, and especially of the clergy, were of no real value, and such promises of vassalage by men possessing any real power were not carried into practice.

The sparseness of the European population made the possession of the country extremely insecure, for no troops could be provided to guard it. But how or where could settlers be obtained? Not in Portugal, for there were much more attractive places than South-Eastern Africa before the

eyes of the peasantry there. Not voluntarily in India, as had been proved by the viceroy's invitations and tempting offers to migrate having had no effect. And so they were sent involuntarily. After the middle of the seventeenth century what colonisation was effected on the banks of the Zambesi was largely the result of criminals being sentenced by the supreme court at Goa to become residents there. If morality before this had been low, hereafter it sank to a point seldom reached elsewhere by Europeans.

At this time our countrymen began to frequent the coast, as the Dutch, notwithstanding repeated orders to prevent them from trading with the inhabitants, had previously done, and English adventurers soon became a source of much uneasiness to the government at Lisbon. The first difficulty connected with them occurred in 1650, when an English trading vessel arrived at Mozambique. Alvaro de Sousa was then captain, and finding that he could do a profitable business with the strangers, he purchased a quantity of goods from them, hoping that the transaction would never be discovered. When the head of the local government acted in this manner, it may well be believed that the subordinate officials and the residents in the village, who had the right of trading with the Bantu on the mainland, were equally dishonest. The matter came to the knowledge of the king, but the death of Alvaro de Sousa prevented the punishment that would otherwise have been inflicted upon him. Orders were again issued, strictly prohibiting commercial intercourse with strangers, who were to be permitted to take in fresh water and to purchase necessary refreshments, but nothing more.

On the 25th of May 1652 the monomotapa Manuza—or Philippe—died. He had not renounced Christianity and had always kept on the best terms with the Portuguese, acknowledging himself a vassal of the king, protecting traders, and making numerous grants of prazos to individuals. He could not do otherwise while Kapranzine lived, nor while Kapranzine's son of highest rank, the heir

to the chieftainship in the direct line, was practically a prisoner in Goa. This young man had entered the Dominican order, and applied himself most assiduously to study, so that, according to the chronicler, he was by his example the most powerful preacher in the country. In 1670 the general of the order sent him the diploma of Master in Theology, equivalent to Doctor of Divinity, and this man, born a barbarian, heir to the most important chieftainship in Southern Africa, died as vicar of the convent of Santa Barbara in Goa. Fiction surely has no stranger story than his.

Manuza's successor adhered to the old Bantu faith, and in consequence the Dominicans were in much distress, as their work seemed likely to be thrown back seriously. Great was the pleasure therefore which they felt when the new chief, under the teaching of the friar Aleixo do Rosario, announced his conversion, and requested to be baptized. His example was followed by a multitude of the sub-chiefs and others. On the 4th of August 1652 these were all received into the church, the monomotapa taking the name Domingos and his great wife Luiza. The intelligence of this event created a joyful sensation in Europe. At Rome the master-general of the order caused special services to be held, and had an account of the baptism engraved in the Latin language on a bronze plate. At the Dominican convent in Lisbon there was a grand thanksgiving service, which was attended by King João IV and all his court, for the event was regarded as one of the greatest triumphs of Christianity, as well as a consolidation of Portuguese rule in South Africa.

Such an opinion, however, was altogether erroneous, for in this same year, 1652, the Dutch East India Company formed a settlement in Table Valley, which was destined to have a vastly greater effect upon the southern portion of the continent than the Portuguese occupation of the eastern coast, that had now lasted nearly a century and a half.



BAPTISM OF THE MONOMOTAPA

Photograph from a picture in the Dominican House, Rome

CHAPTER XIX.

WEAKNESS OF PORTUGUESE RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE Portuguese dependencies on the eastern coast of Africa below the Zambesi were already exhibiting all the marks of decrepitude and decay. The Portuguese nation was almost exhausted, the blood of the peasantry in its southern provinces had become degraded, and the chief sources of its wealth were for ever lost. This condition of things in the kingdom itself was reflected in its dependencies over sea, and in none of them to a greater extent than in those treated of in these volumes.

King João IV, the first monarch of the house of Bragança, died on the 6th of November 1656, leaving a son named Affonso, only thirteen years of age, heir to the throne. The queen dowager, a woman of unusual ability and force of character, then became regent, and held that office until the 21st of June 1662, when Affonso VI became king. His sister, Catherine of Bragança, only a few weeks before had been married to Charles II of England. A close connection between the two countries was thus commenced, which was of great advantage to Portugal by giving her assistance in her war with Spain, and which led some years later to important commercial arrangements. For more than a quarter of a century Spain strove to suppress what was termed at Madrid the rebellion of the duke of Bragança, but at length a series of victories gained by the Portuguese with the assistance of their foreign friends made the attempt hopeless, and on the 13th of February 1668 peace was concluded by a treaty in which the independence of Portugal under the sovereigns of her choice was fully

recognised. The character of Affonso VI was a compound of imbecility and brutality: he was one of the most worthless individuals that ever sat upon a throne. On the 23rd of November 1667 he was forced into retirement, and his brother Dom Pedro, duke of Beja, became regent. Sixteen years later Affonso died, and the regent then became King Pedro II. The Portuguese regard him as one of the best and most prudent of their sovereigns, though there was nothing particularly brilliant or even enterprising in his nature.

During the seventeenth century a general disintegration of the Bantu tribes between the Zambesi and Sabi rivers was taking place, and individual Portuguese who were possessed of ability, though they were devoid of anything like high morality, were busily engaged in forming new clans under their own control. The process commenced when the legitimate monomotapa Kapranzine was deposed, and it was furthered when the tshikanga was defeated and slain. The Batonga along the Zambesi were the first to be influenced by it. They had no affection for the Karanga rulers, nor had those rulers any attachment to them, so that Portuguese who performed any service for the monomotapa could readily obtain from him grants of land more extensive than the largest county in England. The people on these lands as a rule submitted to the new head as long as he governed them in accordance with their ideas, and rebelled when he did not, but in the course of a few years his authority was usually firmly established. He was then to all intents and purposes a Kaffir chief, possessing absolute power over his people.

Father Manuel Barreto, superior of the Jesuit college at Sena, reported to the viceroy in 1667 that nearly the whole of the territory in the triangle formed by the river Zambesi, the sea coast, and a straight line drawn from Tshikova to Sofala, was thus held by individual Portuguese, though many of its Batonga inhabitants were in rebellion. Some of the prazos, as the districts were termed, were, he

said, the size of kingdoms, especially those held by Antonio Lobo da Silva, Manuel d'Abreu, André Collaço, and Manuel Paez de Pinho. The last named had among his subjects the whole of the old tribe of Mongasi. But Kaffir chiefs as they were, these men wished to be considered Portuguese subjects, and were ambitious of holding office and obtaining titles of distinction from the crown. They professed even to hold their prazos from the king under grants for three lives, on payment of quitrent and performing military service with their followers when called upon to do so. The whole of the quitrent, however, that flowed into the royal treasury from this source amounted to little more than six hundred maticals of gold, or £268 2s. 6d., a year. The holders of the prazos were constantly quarrelling, and at times were even carrying on war with each other, but they were always sufficiently loyal to obey a call to arms from the king's representative. For a long time they formed the sole military force of the territory south of the Zambesi.

Many of them amassed great wealth and lived in a style of barbaric splendour, but they were always exposed to the chances of war, for they had no protection beyond what they could supply themselves. On some of the prazos large buildings were erected, with lofty rooms and thick walls to keep out the heat, and their proprietors were noted for the most profuse hospitality to the strangers and travellers who occasionally visited them. Their tables were spread with vegetables and fruit of almost all varieties, grown in their gardens, with the flesh of domestic and wild animals, the costliest wines of Europe, and imported delicacies of every description. They were waited upon by numerous slaves, never moved from their premises except in a palanquin, and lived altogether in luxurious ease, the condition perhaps most respected by the Bantu around them. But such people were not colonists, nor did they set an example of morality that was worthy of being followed by their dependents.

After the Batonga territory was thus parcelled out, adventurers sought to get possession of prazos elsewhere, and many were acquired by purchase from the monomotapa and from his subordinate chiefs. The adventurers did not scruple to use threats and commit acts of violence to obtain what they desired, until the monomotapa became seriously alarmed. In 1663 he sent a petition to the king to provide him with a bodyguard like that supplied to his predecessor, in order that he might be protected from insult and wrong. The king instructed the viceroy to comply with his request, but after a long delay, in 1668 he replied that he could not do so for want of men. The king also directed that the prazos which had been obtained by violence or by purchase from those who had no right to sell them should be restored to the monomotapa, who was a Christian prince; and an officer named Francisco Pires Ribeiro was sent to enforce the order. But the power of the king proved too weak in South-Eastern Africa to carry out a measure like this, which was in conflict with the opinions of the Portuguese landholders. They would not admit that the monomotapa was a Christian in anything but name, and instead of surrendering the prazos, they declared war against him.

The leader of this movement was a lawless individual named Antonio Rodrigues de Lima, who had previously been guilty of much misconduct. He and his associates got together an army of slaves and other dependents, with which they took the field. The monomotapa assembled his forces and marched to meet them, but when the armies were near each other, his captains rose in rebellion, murdered him, and submitted to the Portuguese, offering to admit as their head any one whom the white people might choose to appoint. Had he been their legitimate ruler in the right line of descent they would probably have preferred to die for him, but as he was in their eyes only a usurper he could command neither devotion nor respect. The Portuguese thereupon raised a young man of the ruling family to be monomotapa, expecting him to be a pliant tool in their

hands, but he proved an able chief, and found means to make himself respected. To keep him in check, indeed, the government was obliged to send Antonio Lobo da Silva, the most powerful of all the prazo holders, to reside with him as the king's representative.

A condition of things in which mere adventurers, acting without authority from the nominal government, could appoint and depose chiefs of tribes at their will, and could establish themselves as practically independent sovereigns over great tracts of country, can only be described as one of anarchy. Father Manuel de Gouvea, of the Jesuit mission, wrote to the prince regent in 1673 that a military force of two hundred men was needed to restore order and compel the lawbreakers to respect the rights of others; but the reply was that they could not be sent, as there were no means of meeting the expense. In 1675 a plan was devised in Lisbon which it was hoped might meet the difficulty. This was to send out orphan girls from charitable institutions, to give them prazos as dowries, and upon their marrying Portuguese to appoint their husbands to civil, judicial, and military offices. The eldest daughter was to inherit the estate, upon condition of marrying a Portuguese born in Europe, and in the same manner it was to descend to the next generation. After the death of the third proprietress it was to revert to the crown.

But this scheme could only be carried out on a very limited scale, and in places where the Bantu had lost all their former spirit. To acquire a prazo in the first instance a man needed knowledge of Bantu habits, a strong will, reckless daring, and power of governing others. He established his right, and his heirs, if they were at all capable, might succeed him. Certainly they never could command such devotion as the ancient hereditary chiefs, because the religious element of loyalty was wanting in their case; but as those chiefs had been displaced, and as the government of a strong man is willingly obeyed by the Bantu under such circumstances, they could remain the heads of clans.

It was very different when a stranger, a woman too, was appointed to rule over the people of a district. They would not submit to such an innovation, and therefore the scheme could not be applied in many instances.

The prazos went on increasing until there were no fewer than eighty-five of them. In other words, there were eighty-five Bantu clans under Portuguese, Goanese, or half-breed chiefs, almost constantly at strife with each other. Most of them had black headmen, or petty chiefs, serving under them, through whom their orders were carried out. It was the ancient feudal system of Europe transplanted in Africa, but that system where the king was weakest and the barons most turbulent. There was still a monomotapa, a tshikanga, and a kiteve, ruling over remnants of once powerful tribes; but the individuals who held these titles were little more than puppets. They were generally regarded with distrust and suspicion, and the slightest offence was sufficient pretext for war against them. The power of the Portuguese in South Africa had never been so great before, but the power of the Portuguese government had never been so small.

In his report to the viceroy in 1667, Father Manuel Barreto described Sena as containing thirty houses occupied by Portuguese and many others occupied by half-breeds. It was the principal place in the country, as the factory to which all the traders resorted was there, and its captain had greater power than any of the others, because with him rested decisions of peace and war. He was appointed by the captain of Mozambique. Tete contained forty houses of Portuguese and mixed breeds. Sofala was almost deserted, and no friar was then residing there. Its trade in gold was only five hundred pastas * a year, whereas nearly three thousand pastas a year were obtained at other places and exported through Kilimane. In the monomotapa's country

* The quantity contained in a pasta, or pasteboard case, is uncertain. Probably gold was kept in cases of a particular size, and the expression at the time would convey a definite meaning to those engaged in the trade.

there were trading stations, with Portuguese captains, at Dambarare, Ongwe, Luanze, and Tshipiriviri, and a captain with a considerable body of followers at the residence of the chief, to keep that barbarian in check. The three captains of Sena, Tete, and Sofala were still the only administrators of justice in the country, but they could be tried by the supreme court at Goa for pronouncing illegal sentences.

There were sixteen places of worship in the country. Of these, six belonged to the Company of Jesus, one—at Sena—was ministered to by a secular priest, and nine belonged to the Dominicans, though they had then only six missionaries in the field. The distribution of these places of worship was, nine in the lands occupied and ruled by Portuguese, two in Manika, and five in the country of the monomotapa.

Corruption must have been prevalent everywhere, for Father Barreto states that even the office of ecclesiastical administrator at Mozambique was purchased with money. He laid oppression also to the charge of the highest officer in rank in East Africa. Trading privileges with the Bantu on the mainland north of the Zambesi had been granted by the king to the inhabitants of the island of Mozambique, in order to encourage people to settle there, but the captain had deprived them of their rights that he might secure the profit for himself. They were obliged to purchase merchandise from him at his own price, instead of importing it from India, and in the same way they could sell to no one but him.

Father Barreto was an enthusiast, who had day dreams of a great Portuguese empire in Africa, stretching from the Red sea to the Cape of Good Hope. He does not seem to have been aware that the Dutch had formed a settlement at the turning-point of the coast; or if he was, he ignored it as an obstacle to the extension of Portuguese authority. He speaks of the cruelty, rapacity, and lawlessness of the holders of the prazos then in existence, and fears that the wrath of the Almighty may be poured out on them for their sins.

Yet he advises that they should be employed in conquering their Bantu neighbours, and that the system should be maintained until not only the whole of the mainland south of Abyssinia, but the island of Madagascar as well, was parcelled out in this manner. Then, indeed, there would be an empire surpassing the greatest in Asia. Then the Bantu could be compelled to wear cotton clothing and to dig for gold, and commerce would flourish and boundless wealth flow into the treasury of the king. As for mission work, it should be carried on with tenfold vigour. Instead of an ecclesiastical administrator, there should be an archbishop of Mozambique, with two or three suffragans and numerous zealous priests. Surely Cortes and Pizarro were more moderate in their schemes of conquest with slender resources than this Jesuit missionary at Sena.

As regular troops could not be provided to defend the country, the government at Lisbon was doing all that was in its power to promote colonisation. In 1665 an order was issued that no settler should be allowed to remove without special leave, and this was afterwards stringently enforced. In 1671 the prince regent instructed the viceroy to throw open the commerce of the Rivers to every one as soon as the contract then existing with the captain of Mozambique expired, principally with the object of inducing individuals to take up their residence in South-Eastern Africa, and in the following year this order was repeated, March 1673 being named as the date from which it was to have effect. It was anticipated that the volume of trade would be greatly increased by private competition, because the captains fixed very high prices for selling and very low ones for buying, so that there was little inducement for the black inhabitants of the country to collect gold and ivory. It was thought also that a larger sum would be realised from customs duties, after all expenses were met, than was paid by the captain for the monopoly, and that the administration could be conducted in a more satisfactory manner.

The viceroy Luis de Mendonça Furtado, however, brought forward many objections to unrestricted trade, and suggested an alternative, which the prince regent left to his discretion to carry out. Accordingly, in 1673 the commerce of South-Eastern Africa was taken over by the state, to be carried on for the benefit of the royal treasury, and to be conducted under the direction of a council at Goa by a board of six members at Sena. It was about as clumsy and expensive a scheme as could well be devised, and it was made still more cumbersome by the conferring of extensive judicial power upon the board at Sena, some of whose members were ecclesiastics. Under the new system all persons employed received salaries, and the civil and military authority were separated. An officer named João de Sousa Freire, with the title of commander in chief, was appointed head of the military branch of the government, with power to call out the residents in the villages and the holders of prazos with their retainers to perform service in war. One of his first acts was to get ready a force to attack the monomotapa if the silver mines which were supposed to be known to that chief were not delivered to the Portuguese.

The aspect of affairs along the whole coast was at this time exceedingly gloomy. The weakness of the Portuguese was so apparent that the Mohamedans took courage, and in various places to the north attempted to recover their independence. In 1670 they even attacked Mozambique, and though they did not succeed in getting possession of Fort São Sebastião, they inspired great alarm everywhere. In 1673 Father Manuel de Gouvea, a member of the board of commerce at Sena, wrote to the prince regent that without five or six small armed vessels it would be impossible to trade to the north; but they were not supplied through want of means. Matters at length reached such a pass that the viceroy Louis de Mendonça Furtado, finding his despatches produced no effect, sent the Jesuit father André Furtado to Lisbon to represent that all East Africa must be lost unless a military and naval force to maintain Portuguese

authority could be provided. North of the Zambesi the sheik of Pate and other petty rulers were in open rebellion, and south of that river the confusion and disorder caused by the jealousies and strife of the prazo holders were so great that—as one of the viceroy's advisers wrote—obedience to the government was regarded as a mere matter of courtesy.

The court at Lisbon was then compelled to make a supreme effort. In April 1677 Dom Pedro d'Almeida was appointed viceroy of India, and was directed to proceed to Goa and take over the administration, but very shortly afterwards to return to the rivers of Kuama to meet a force of six hundred soldiers that would leave the Tagus in five vessels in September. With these ships and men he was to restore order in East Africa, punishing the sheik of Pate first. During his absence from Goa the government there would be carried on by a board acting with full power, so that his whole time and thought might be devoted to the duty specially assigned to him. He was to remain two years in Africa, and then place João de Sousa Freire at the head of the local government and proceed again to Goa. The board of administration there was directed to give him all the assistance possible during his absence, though he was to have no control over it. Dom Pedro carried out these instructions, and though he died before everything was satisfactorily arranged, he managed to bring the petty sheiks of the north to submission once more and to establish comparative order south of the Zambesi.

The method of conducting trade on account of the government proved a complete failure. The council at Goa commenced with debt, not only for goods purchased and vessels chartered, but for the payment of thirty thousand xerafins, or nine million reis, to each of the prospective captains of Mozambique in return for relinquishing their rights. The goods it purchased in India were often bad in quality and unsuited to the requirements of the Bantu. The persons employed as agents were careless and indifferent, the costs were great, and the returns too small to meet the salaries

and other expenses. Under these circumstances, in March 1680 the prince regent issued instructions that the affairs of the council were to be wound up, and that the commerce of the country south of the Zambesi was to be thrown open to all his subjects in Europe, Asia, Brazil, and Africa, upon payment of twenty per cent of the value of imports and exports as customs duties. The existing debts were to be a charge upon these duties.

When this order reached Goa a council of state was convened, and every member voted for suspending it until representations of the consequences could be made and fresh directions be given. But in February 1681 Francisco de Tavora was appointed viceroy, and was instructed to throw open the trade and to see that the monomotapa was so treated as to preserve his friendship.

In September 1681 the new viceroy reached Goa. Soon afterwards he laid his instructions before the council, when it was decided that the prince regent's orders, issued after full deliberation and advice, must be carried out, no matter what the consequences might be. In November, therefore, a proclamation to that effect was issued, and the affairs of the board of commerce were placed in the hands of liquidators. Custom houses were speedily thereafter opened at the African ports, and every one was free to buy and to sell whatever he chose. In March 1682 Caetano de Mello de Castro was appointed governor and commander in chief of Mozambique and the Rivers, the name by which the territory south of the Zambesi and the Kilimane mouth was usually known. He was allowed a salary of eight thousand cruzados a year. With him were sent two or three hundred such soldiers as could be raised, to enable him to defend Fort São Sebastião and maintain his authority elsewhere, and he was particularly charged to see that the revenue was not defrauded by the system of unrestricted trade.

For a long time the government at Lisbon had been endeavouring to induce Portuguese men and women to settle in South Africa. In 1677 the troops that were sent out

were accompanied by a few artisans and labourers, and by eight reclaimed women from a house of mercy, some of whom took up their residence at Mozambique and others on the banks of the Zambesi. After their arrival all trace of them is lost, but they can only have prospered in such pursuits as the former residents had followed. Nowhere in the world could a European labourer have been more out of place than in Portuguese South Africa, and as for mechanics, half a dozen masons and carpenters would have been too many for all the building that was to be done. There were in Goa a number of Portuguese and Eurasians sunk in the lowest depths of poverty, mere mendicants in fact, and it was under the consideration of the government to remove them to Africa to colonise the country. Common sense prevailed, however, and this most injudicious scheme was not carried out. And now the same government that desired the increase of the European population adopted a commercial system under which the few white men in the villages and at the trading stations must be driven out.

Against all the advantages that are derivable from an Asiatic possession, one tremendous disadvantage must be set down: that its inhabitants may become entitled to privileges ruinous to their conquerors. In what remained of Portuguese Asia there were numerous mixed-breeds, and besides these a large class of Indian traders, commonly termed Canarins or Banyans. These people are among the keenest traffickers in the world, whether as merchants or as pedlars, and no white man can compete with them, as it costs them the merest trifle to live. They add nothing to the strength of a country, as they are wholly unfit to bear arms in war, and they contribute little or nothing to its revenue beyond what they pay in customs duties. They are the most dangerous of all immigrants into a territory with a warm climate, where equal rights when they are concerned can only mean the removal or ruin of the Europeans.

As soon as the commerce of South-Eastern Africa was open, the Canarins began to take part in it, and the inevi-

table result quickly followed. Within six years no fewer than seventeen Banyan houses of business—some of course very paltry establishments—were opened on the island of Mozambique alone, and the Portuguese trading community had dwindled to fifteen individuals. Sena and Tete were threatened with utter extinction as Portuguese villages, and the outlying stations were rapidly being lost to white men. The price of gold too had been raised by competition until there was no longer a fair profit to be gained on it.

The country was involved in other troubles as well. The prazo holders were discontented and sullen, foreseeing the loss of their means of acquiring wealth. Some of them had been obliged by the government to surrender estates obtained in an improper manner, and all of them resented recent legislation so keenly that they no longer troubled themselves to search for gold, in consequence of which the quantity obtained was much less than formerly. Their turbulent and violent conduct was irritating the monomotapa, and war was constantly expected. The customs dues collected were insufficient to defray the charges of the administration, paltry as these were, and no means could be devised to increase the revenue. It was indeed in contemplation to collect ivory in payment of overdue quitrent, and to levy a yearly poll tax of a matical of gold upon every adult black male, but a little reflection showed both these schemes to be impracticable. If the prazo holder would not pay his quitrent in the normal manner he would not pay it in ivory, and as for the poll tax, the blacks would certainly flee from Portuguese jurisdiction rather than submit to it.

King Pedro II took all these circumstances into consideration, and on the 20th of March 1690 issued orders that free trade in South-Eastern Africa was to cease at once. An attempt was to be made to form a company to carry it on, and in the mean time the royal treasury would undertake it again as in former times. These orders preserved the country for the Portuguese crown, but the Banyans had got a hold upon the commerce which could not be entirely

destroyed until 1783, when they were expelled from the country south of the Zambesi.

Caetano de Mello de Castro was succeeded as governor and commander in chief by Dom Miguel d'Almeida, whose term of office expired in 1688. Thomé de Sousa Correa, a very diligent and upright man, followed, and to him was entrusted the task of directing the commerce on behalf of the king. This he did with such care and ability that it yielded a considerable profit above all expenses, though the villages did not fully regain their European inhabitants.

Several years elapsed before a company could be formed with sufficient capital to undertake the trade. Some persons in India first subscribed for a number of shares, and a provisional charter was drawn up there, which was sent to Lisbon and altered by the king in council. As finally arranged, its principal clauses were: that any one in Portugal or India could subscribe for shares; that the royal treasury was to take part in it to the value of the vessels then engaged in the commerce and of the merchandise on hand; that every viceroy during his whole term of office should be a shareholder to the extent of fifteen thousand xerafins, which sum was to be deducted from the first payment of his salary and repaid to him when received in like manner from his successor; that the management of business should be entrusted to a board of five directors to be selected in the first instance by the viceroy from the largest shareholders, and afterwards, as vacancies occurred, by the viceroy from a double list of names presented to him by the remaining directors; that the company was to pay the same customs duties as individual traders had paid; that it was to pay yearly to the royal treasury fifty thousand cruzados towards the cost of the naval defence of India, thirty thousand cruzados, being the amount formerly paid by the captains of Mozambique for a monopoly of trade south of the Zambesi, and three thousand cruzados, being the amount formerly paid by the same official for a monopoly of the trade of the islands of Angosha; that the company was to

have an absolute monopoly of all the trade from Mombasa to Cape Correntes; that it should be entirely commercial in its character and not interfere with the different governments; and that the charter was to hold good for twelve years, with three years notice thereafter before it could be cancelled.

The chartered company thus formed came into existence in 1697, but the amount of capital subscribed was too small to enable it to carry on the commerce of South-Eastern Africa successfully, and the obligations imposed were too heavy for it to bear, so after a feeble attempt during the next three years to maintain itself, in 1700 it was dissolved, and the trade was again undertaken by the royal treasury. Just at this time expectations of great wealth, derived from reports of the richness of the pearl fisheries and from specimens of ore sent to Lisbon, were cherished by the king and his court, so that the failure of the company and the reversion of the trade to the treasury were not regretted. King Pedro indeed believed for a while that the Rivers were the most valuable oversea possession in his dominions. In this strain he, the lord of Brazil, which had then already begun to pour its wealth into the mother country, wrote of them, regretting only his want of means to develop their immense resources at once; but, as on so many occasions before, high hopes regarding South African treasures were doomed to end in bitter disappointment.

The disturbed condition of the country was unfavourable to the progress of mission work, though the decadence of the ruling Bantu families made the conversion of the people more easy than before. The Jesuits were strong in Mozambique, where they had a large convent, and where they were often called upon to aid the government with advice in political and commercial matters. At one time even the superintendence of the repairs of the fortress was entrusted to them by the king, who believed that they would be more likely to see the work carried out properly than the civil or military officials. At Sena they

had an establishment, and here also their services were requisitioned by the government for many purposes unconnected with religion. They were the most refined and most highly educated men of the day, so that they were naturally regarded as the most competent to give advice in all matters. Their reports are the clearest, best written, and far the most interesting documents now in existence upon the country. Compared with the ordinary state papers, they are as polished marble to unhewn stone.

In 1697 the Jesuits established a seminary at Sena for the education of the children of the Portuguese in the country and the sons of Bantu chiefs. This institution was aided by the state, and wealthy traders and prazo holders contributed largely to its support. At Tete they had also a mission, and further several stations along the river where they were favoured by prazo holders, and could thus remain notwithstanding the claim of the Dominicans to that territory as the sphere of labour assigned to them by royal order. Though the Jesuits were so active, they reported at a later date that their work among the Bantu at these places was almost fruitless. They had no difficulty in inducing people to call themselves Christians, but they could not persuade them to change their mode of living, to abandon polygamy, or to observe the ordinances of the church.

The order of Saint John of God had not yet sent any of its members to the Rivers, though in 1681 the hospital at Mozambique was entrusted to its care. This order was founded purposely to attend upon the sick, and its members were trained as hospital nurses are now. Previous to this date the sick sailors and soldiers at Mozambique had no other attendants than slaves, who acted under direction of the surgeons; but henceforward they were tenderly looked after. Nearly half a century later a shipwrecked Dutch traveller, named Jacob de Bucquoi, who was for several weeks an inmate of this hospital, wrote of it in terms of unbounded admiration. He said that no one, however rich, could be cared for and tended better than the sick were there,

without any exception, whether they were Portuguese or strangers.

The Dominican convent at Mozambique was still the principal station of that order in South-Eastern Africa, but the country south of the Zambesi was the field in which most of its missionaries laboured. Not long after the baptism of the monomotapa Domingos in 1652—the same who was murdered by his own captains eighteen years later—their zeal began to flag. In the time of their prosperity, as is often the case with men in other pursuits, the friars did not display the great qualities which characterised them during the period of trial. Some of them fell into habits of indolence, and others into a spirit of indifference. Clearly the introduction of foreign blood and the condition of the mother country were producing their natural effects. The ecclesiastical administrator at Mozambique, though he had not the same control over members of religious associations as over secular priests, threatened to introduce some other order, and actually proceeded to Goa with that object. There, however, he was induced by the provincial of the Dominicans to desist from his purpose, on condition that a commissary and visitor should be sent at once to the country south of the Zambesi, and that some active missionaries should accompany him.

Friar Francisco da Trindade was appointed commissary, and brought five associates with him. One of these, the father João de São Thomé, he stationed at Sofala, another, the father Damaso de Santa Rosa, he stationed with the monomotapa, the third, the father Diogo de Santa Rosa, he directed to renew the work that had been abandoned at Masapa, the fourth, the father Jorge de São Thomé, he directed to do the same at Ongwe, and the fifth, the father Miguel dos Archanjos, he sent to the Kiteve country to establish a mission. The commissary was a man of great activity, and during the time that he had the oversight of the mission everything went on well. He resided first at Sena, and made himself master of the Bantu dialect spoken

there, in which he prepared a catechism and another religious book termed a confessionario. He then proceeded to Tete, studied the dialect used by the clans in that part of the country, and translated his catechism into it. One of the sons of the monomotapa came under his influence, and was baptized and trained by him. This youth was afterwards sent to Goa, where he entered the Dominican order, and became known as the friar Constantino do Rosario. In another chapter it will be necessary to make a better acquaintance with him.

This period of activity, however, did not last long. There were energetic men of the Dominican order in South Africa at the close of the seventeenth century, but the spirit of languor in which Portugal and her foreign possessions were steeped embraced the great body of the friars also. Further many of them were Asiatics and Eurasians, and a few were Africans not half weaned from another creed, all quite unfit to carry on mission work unless under the close supervision of white men. Under these circumstances, though baptisms were numerous, real converts were few. In the interminable feuds of the country, stations were often destroyed, as Ongwe and Dambarare—the latter the principal gold market at the time—were in 1692. In 1696 Sofala was attacked by a powerful clan, which was repulsed, but a large portion of the back country was closed to Europeans during the next thirty-three years, and the station at the kiteve's kraal had to be abandoned. Without protection, without homes—much less church buildings,—the missionaries could have done very little except in the villages even if their zeal had not passed away.

It is impossible to ascertain how far westward missionaries had penetrated the country by this time, because they had no means of determining longitudes, and no descriptions of their travels are extant from which their routes can be traced. As they could not erect substantial buildings there are no ruins of churches to mark the sites of their stations, and even some of the old names of places mentioned in their

records have long been forgotten. On the southern bank of the Zambesi they had occupied Dambarare, a little higher up than the present station of Zumbo, but it is improbable that they had gone much farther. At a distance from the river there is no reason to suppose that they had advanced so far, and every reason to believe that they had not. There was more than sufficient for them to do in the well-known and long occupied parts of the Karanga country.

At Dhlodhlo, in latitude $19^{\circ} 40'$ S., longitude $29^{\circ} 25'$ east of Greenwich, a few years ago the seal of a priest bearing the name Bernabe de Ataide encircling the symbol I H S, a silver cross and gold neck chain partly fused by fire, a little bell with the handle burnt off, a fused silver plate, and some other articles were found, which lead to the conclusion that an ecclesiastic once resided there, whose dwelling was destroyed by fire. All these articles were found close together, and were covered with earth twenty to thirty centimetres, or eight to twelve inches, in depth. Not far off were two small cannons, one of bronze, the other of iron, with the arms of Portugal stamped upon them, though to a certainty no military station ever existed near that locality. At Khami, a little more than an hour's ride on horseback west of Bulawayo, a cross of stones and the stone foundation of a small rectangular building such as a church or a European dwelling house have been discovered, but no one can say when or by whom they were constructed.

There were never any Portuguese trading stations in the southern or western parts of the Rhodesia of our day, the area in which the most numerous and the richest of the ancient gold mines are found was never occupied, though it may have been occasionally visited, by them. In early days, just as in more recent times, the trader followed close on the heels of the missionary. It is safe to assert that one was not long without the companionship of the other, and as there is not the slightest trace in written records, or in any other form, of Portuguese traders or their agents establishing themselves so far inland, how can the evidence of the

presence of Christian missionaries at Dhlodhlo and Khami be accounted for? There is but one way of doing so that the writer can suggest. When the Jesuits were expelled from the Portuguese dominions in 1759, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that some of those in Eastern Africa may have turned their steps towards what was then the distant interior, rather than abandon their work. To them such a course would be obeying the command of God rather than that of man. There is the difficulty of the two cannons in opposition to this conjecture, but it is not so great as at first sight it may seem. No present to gain the favour of a Bantu chief would be more acceptable than these, taken perhaps from some deserted fort, none that would be transported more readily by Bantu carriers. Records still to be sought for and published may throw some light upon this seeming mystery, at present no other explanation can be given than the above.

At this period and later when dealing with the Portuguese in South Africa one is never certain whether he is recounting the deeds of Caucasians, of Asiatics, of Africans, or of mixed breeds, unless he can trace their origin, which is not always possible. An individual with the name of a European grandee was as likely as not to be a negro or a half-caste from Goa. Who, for instance, would recognise a son of the kiteve under the name Dom Antonio Lançarote, who in 1681 applied to the king for permission to remove from Goa to Africa? If deeds performed are worthy of mention they should be related, but it would be more satisfactory if the nationality of the actors could be stated as well.

Since the accession of the house of Bragança to the throne of Portugal the closest friendship with England had existed, still English ships were causing much trouble and anxiety to the authorities on the eastern coast of Africa, though the British government was in no way responsible for what was being done by them. Some of these ships were avowedly pirates, similar to those that infested West Indian waters,

that plundered and scuttled vessels under every flag but their own. Their crews were composed of ruffians of every maritime nation, though the vessels were British built, and all the names of the officers that are known are English. Delagoa Bay and the ports on the coast of Madagascar afforded them convenient places for repairing, provisioning, and otherwise fitting out for cruises in search of booty. These pirates were for many years a cause of terror to navigators in the eastern seas, though they only murdered the crews of their prizes when they were apprehensive of danger to themselves should their prisoners live. Sometimes a ship left India, and was not heard of again for years. Such was the fate of the *Nossa Senhora da Ajuda*, which was captured by two pirates off the African coast, when all on board were put to death except one Malay boy who was kept as a slave. In 1682 these same pirates put into Mozambique, where one of them was wrecked, and the Malay gave information of the destruction of the Indiaman and also of a vessel bound from that island to Brazil with slaves, which had afterwards been captured. Fort São Sebastião was at the time provided with a fairly strong garrison, so the rovers were seized and sent to Goa for trial.

Another class was composed of ships that visited the coast for trading purposes in defiance of the English East India Company. They were either not provided with clearance papers from any English port, or they had papers giving some destination beyond the limits assigned in the East India Company's charter, so that in each case they were liable to be seized wherever there was sufficient force to capture them. Except at Mozambique no such force existed on the south-eastern coast of Africa or on the shores of Madagascar, which they therefore frequented. It had been the custom for nearly a century and a half to send a pangayo occasionally from Mozambique to Inhambane and Delagoa Bay to barter ivory from the Bantu, and in 1685 one left for that purpose. Upon her return, Domingos

Lourenço, her master, reported that at Delagoa Bay he had found five English trading vessels provided with merchandise of a better quality than his, and that they had bought all the ivory and ambergris in the surrounding country.

On the 6th of August 1686 the governor of Mozambique, Dom Miguel d'Almeida, and his council met to consider this matter. The council consisted of the lieutenant-general Francisco d'Aviles Ramires, the castellan Paschoal d'Abreu Sarmiento e Moraes, the factor João Machado Sacoto, the rector of the Jesuit college Father Manuel Freire, the vicar of the parish church Father Domingos Dias Ribeiro, and the superior of the Dominican convent Friar João da Magdalena. The governor and council unanimously resolved not to send a pangayo to Delagoa Bay that year, because most probably English ships would continue to frequent that port and she might be robbed or insulted by them, and further because there would be little or nothing to obtain in barter, as that part of the country had been thoroughly cleared of its marketable produce.

This resolution was communicated to Dom Rodrigo da Costa, governor-general of India, who overruled it, and gave directions that a pangayo should be sent to the bay again, even at a pecuniary loss, in order that the English might not take possession of it under the pretext that it was neglected by the Portuguese. Our countrymen continued to trade there, and from an account given by one of them, Robert Everard by name, it is seen that they set about their business with characteristic energy. Everard was in Delagoa Bay in 1687, in the ship *Bauden*. They had materials ready on board, and put together a small vessel, which was sent up and down the coast to trade for ivory. At the bay itself they obtained only two thousand kilogrammes until some chiefs went on board, whom they put in irons and detained until more was brought for sale. One day a small boat arrived with three Englishmen in her, who had formed part of the crew of a trading vessel like the one they had put together. This vessel had been wrecked on the coast, and

the boat's crew had suffered greatly from hunger before they reached the bay, for when they went ashore to try to get food the black people robbed them of their clothing, and would give them nothing to eat. The *Bauden* lay there at anchor three months, and then sailed for Madagascar.

So matters continued until the end of the century, both English and Portuguese vessels frequenting the bay; but then the Portuguese abandoned it for many years. Their pangayo was seized when at anchor by a pirate ship that sailed in under French colours, and was plundered and destroyed, though most of her crew managed to escape to the shore. Then the effort to carry on a profitless and dangerous trade was given up, and the next century was far advanced before the Portuguese flag was again seen anywhere on the mainland south of Inhambane.

CHAPTER XX.

EVENTS IN PORTUGUESE SOUTH AFRICA DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

THE condition of the parent state must always affect that of a foreign possession, and this was particularly the case with regard to a parent state so weak in men and in resources as Portugal had now become. In the next volume the progress of a real European colony will be traced, a colony full of life and energy, capable of growth and of occupying no small place in the world's history; in this, a mere possession peopled by barbarians, not entitled in any sense of the word to be termed a colony, has to be dealt with.

During the eighteenth century the history of Portugal presents hardly any subject of interest except the close commercial connection of the country with Great Britain, the growth of Brazil, and the extraordinary vigour of the celebrated minister Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, better known in his later life as marquis of Pombal. King Pedro II died on the 9th of December 1706, and was succeeded by his son João V, a monarch of no importance, who reigned forty-four years. On his death in 1750 the throne was ascended by his son José I. He chose as his prime minister the man whose commanding intellect and utter fearlessness made the country for a brief space a powerful factor in the affairs of Europe, and whose enmity to the Jesuits has given him a world-wide reputation. The marquis of Pombal, however, regarded the remnant of the Portuguese possessions in India and Eastern Africa as of so little value that he did nothing to raise those depend-

encies from their state of depression, and it is therefore unnecessary to relate his actions here.

Upon the death of José I, 24th of February 1777, and the fall of the great minister from power immediately afterwards, Portugal at once sank again into her former obscurity. The king, having left no son, was succeeded by his daughter Maria Francisca, who was married to her uncle, her father's younger brother, and he was crowned with her as Pedro III. Both of them were of weak mind, and after her husband's death Queen Maria Francisca became so imbecile that it was necessary for her son Dom João to carry on the government some years before 1799, when he assumed the title of regent. In November 1807 he with his family and his demented mother abandoned Portugal and sailed for Brazil in an English man-of-war, just before the entry of the French army under Marshal Junot into Lisbon. Such being the condition of the government at home, progress in a distant dependency with no special advantages was out of the question.

It may be asserted indeed that from the beginning of the eighteenth century until our own times the Portuguese power in South Africa was almost as unsubstantial as a shadow, and that it continued to exist at all was due to the breaking up of the large Bantu tribes, the immigration of many small clans from the territory north of the Zambesi, and the perpetual wars in which the petty sections were thereafter involved, when the aid of a few Europeans was usually sufficient to turn the scale of victory in favour of any chief whose cause they espoused. Sometimes, however, Portuguese *prazo* holders were defeated and driven from their estates, which were afterwards occupied by independent Bantu chiefs. These men were generally so jealous of each other that union for common defence, except under extraordinary circumstances, was next to impossible. The country thus presented politically as continual a change as the colours and forms in a kaleidoscope, and if it were possible to do so, it would be as useful to describe in

minute detail the varying appearances of the one as of the other. A few instances may be given as specimens of the whole, and a single short chapter will afford ample space for a recital of all that is worth knowing of the transactions of the Portuguese in Africa south of the Zambesi during the eighteenth century.

In 1701 Sena and Tete narrowly escaped destruction in a general rising of the Bantu caused by the oppressive conduct of the commander in chief José da Fonseca Coutinho. He had attacked the most powerful chief in his neighbourhood, defeated him and put him to death, and then elevated his brother to the vacant place. Having been so far successful, he proceeded to conduct himself in such a highhanded manner that his own people rose in revolt. Fifty soldiers were sent from Mozambique to the Rivers to support the king's authority, but the insurrection spread. In 1708 the captain Antonio Simões Leitão was killed in battle. His successor Rafael Alvares da Silva managed, however, more by concession than by force, to arrange terms of peace. This was hardly effected when a difficulty arose between the captain of Tete and the chief of Inyabanzo, who was nominally a vassal of the Portuguese government. In 1710 the chief overran the whole of the prazos connected with Tete, added them to his own domain, and left the white men the village only.

In 1717 a prazo holder named Pedro Carvalho openly rebelled, and many others refused to pay their quitrents. Some were at war with others, just as if they had been Bantu chiefs. One of the most powerful among them, named Manuel Gonçalves Guião, pursued his opponent into Sena, where he not only caused a great many negroes to be killed, but destroyed and burned much property. He even attempted to prevent the newly appointed captain, who arrived while he was there, from entering upon his duty. The government was so powerless that it did not so much as endeavour to punish this ruffian, but tried instead to conciliate him, and actually held out inducements of

rank and office if he would conduct himself as a dutiful subject.

In 1722, in return for assistance against his enemy, a chief named Masisa affixed his mark to a document ceding a tract of land about a hundred and four kilometres or sixty-five miles in length along the coast opposite the Bazaruta islands. Such a cession, however, was of no practical value, as the territory could not be occupied, nor could trade be carried on in it to a greater extent than before.

In 1735 a trader at Sofala, named João Pires, went into the interior with a party of slaves carrying goods for barter. On his way he met a son of the kiteve with a band of warriors marching towards the territory of a chief with whom they were at war, and through whose lands Pires wished to pass. The young chief stopped him, and showed such enmity that the slaves fled through fear, when Pires was murdered and his goods were seized. As soon as his widow heard of this, with the consent of the captain of Sofala she raised an army of blacks belonging to clans that had recently arrived in the neighbourhood, who were always ready to embark in any enterprise that offered a prospect of spoil, and made war upon the kiteve. After conquering several of his sub-chiefs she directed her march towards his great place, but he became terrified, and to appease her sent her the head of her husband's murderer and offered to cede a valuable district named Tshironde to her. She accepted the offer, peace was made, and the district remained in name Portuguese territory for more than a century afterwards.

In 1753 the Portuguese of Mozambique were defeated in an engagement with a Bantu tribe on the mainland, when about half of the whole military force they could muster perished. This prevented them for several years from assisting their countrymen south of the Zambesi, and in consequence many prazos were lost in the interminable feuds of that period.

In 1760 a chief named Beve, in return for assistance in a war with his neighbour, ceded a large tract near Tete, which

had been possessed once before, but had been lost. It was partitioned out again as prazos.

In 1774 the country of the kiteve was overrun by a horde from the north, and the only Portuguese trading station in it except Sofala was destroyed.

In the early years of the century by express order of the king an effort was made to support the monomotapa, and a Dominican friar with a captain and twenty-four soldiers as a bodyguard accompanied him wherever he went. He was now always of necessity a nominal Christian, for the Portuguese would not acknowledge the right of any one to fill the office unless he had been baptized, and without their assistance he was helpless. The name of the man who held the position at this time was Pedro. But little more than the title remained to him, for the old tribe was broken into fragments, each absolutely independent of the others. The succession had of late been nearly always disputed, and the majority of those who claimed to be the heirs had met violent deaths. A clan under a chief named Tshangamira was much more powerful than the one that remained to the monomotapa. In a war between them a considerable number of Portuguese were made prisoners by Tshangamira, and they were kept under guard for several years, until they were finally ransomed by the ecclesiastical administrator of Mozambique.

Under such circumstances it might reasonably be thought that a cession by the monomotapa of territory at a distance from his own kraal would not have been regarded as of much value. Yet the court at Lisbon attached considerable importance to a grant of silver mines made by the monomotapa Pedro, and desired to have it confirmed by his son the friar Constantino do Rosario, who was resident in India. Friar Constantino had not conducted himself to the satisfaction of the vicar general of his order, and in consequence had been deprived of his habit and banished to Macao, but in 1709 by the king's instructions had been brought back to Goa and taken again into his convent, where the viceroy was

directed to see that he was treated with every courtesy. In 1711 Pedro died, leaving no other son than Constantino; and a brother of the deceased chief, termed by the Portuguese Dom João, took possession of the vacant place. Thereupon the mother of the friar sent him word of what had happened, and desired him to return and claim his inheritance.

The king was of opinion that if Constantino was made monomotapa, great advantages would accrue to the Portuguese, as he had so long been accustomed to live as a European that his fidelity could be depended upon, and the silver mines, wherever they were, would be secured. He therefore directed the friar Francisco da Trindade, who was then in Lisbon, to proceed to Goa in the first ship that sailed for that port, and to conduct his former pupil from the convent of our Lady of the Rosary to Sena, where the Portuguese were to receive him as the legitimate chief. He was to be treated with such kindness and courtesy as to call forth his lasting gratitude. Constantino, however, had no desire to place himself in such a difficult and dangerous position as that he was invited to strive for, and in 1713 he wrote to the king that he was a professed friar of the Dominican order and had abandoned all hopes of worldly advancement. So he remained at Goa, and the prospect of acquiring silver mines through his agency had to be given up. The king made him an allowance of **two** hundred xerafins a year from the royal treasury for his **maintenance**, and orders were issued that he was to be treated with all possible respect.

Six years later Friar Constantino do Rosario appears again in the records of India. He had misconducted himself once more in such a way as to incur the displeasure of the vicar general, and had been threatened with imprisonment. Thereupon, on the 21st of April 1720, the king issued instructions that he was to be sent to Lisbon, without being permitted to land at Mozambique on the way.

The system of carrying on trade, though avowedly for the benefit of the royal treasury, did not prevent private individuals from engaging in it. Such persons frequently obtained licenses from the council of commerce at Goa either to traffic at a particular place or in a particular article, naturally on paying for the privilege as much as or more than could be gained by the council's selling and buying through its own agents. But fraudulent practices were so common that a large portion of the commerce of South-Eastern Africa did not pass through the legitimate channel at all. The governor of Mozambique himself and even some of the members of the council were engaged in traffic on their own account, and if these men, the guardians of the king's interests, were corrupt, what could be expected of their subordinates? The ivory sold in India far exceeded in quantity that which passed through the custom houses, yet the viceroy could devise no other remedy than the sale of a monopoly again. In 1720 he made a contract for the trade with Dom Francisco Alarção Sotomayor, the newly appointed governor of Mozambique, but the king disapproved of it, and it was cancelled.

By the Portuguese court the retention of the commerce of South-Eastern Africa was not regarded alone as a question of profit, though that was a weighty consideration, but as a question of national honour. It was all that was left to them of the vast trade of the East that had once been theirs. The English, the Danes, the French, and the Dutch had deprived them of all share of the commerce of Asia, to such an extent indeed that at Goa itself they had to purchase Indian wares from one or the other of these. Eastern Africa alone remained, and they clung to it, though their grasp was feeble. In 1700 Mombasa was wrested from them. In 1725 it was recovered, but four years later the blacks rose in insurrection against Alvaro Caetano de Mello e Castro, the last of the Portuguese captains, and drove him away. A little later the Arabs acquired the stronghold. Feeling its helplessness, the government at Lisbon then withdrew its representatives from Zanzibar and Pate, to prevent their

forcible expulsion, and thereafter confined its claims to Pemba and the coast below Cape Delgado.

From this seaboard they were threatened to be driven by other nations who coveted what little trade was to be carried on there. An account of the occupation of Delagoa Bay by the Dutch for several years will be given in another volume, and an attempt by an Austrian Company to establish a factory there at a later date will presently be mentioned.

Corruption was everywhere so prevalent in Eastern Africa that the orders of the king or the viceroy were disregarded by the officials when they stood in the way of making money. The very powder sent for defence was misappropriated by the men who were entrusted with its care. The inhabitants of Mozambique did not hesitate to trade with foreigners, and when the king issued instructions to enforce the law most strictly, it was found impossible to do anything in the matter because the whole of the officials were involved in the guilt. In 1725 a French frigate was allowed to take soundings and survey the harbour of Mozambique, and the governor, Antonio João de Siqueira, gave her officers free access to Fort São Sebastião, entertained them, and received entertainment from them on board their ship in return. For this he was ordered to be arrested and tried at Goa, and the instructions to the viceroy to do everything possible to keep foreigners away from the coast were repeated by the king. They had utterly destroyed the commerce of India, he said, and that of Africa must by some means be retained. But as merchandise could be purchased at a cheap rate from the French and the English, who would also pay well for ivory and slaves, matters went on as before. In 1747 the governor of Mozambique was ascertained to have sold a number of slaves to a French ship, and not only so, but to have entered into a contract with her captain to supply him with many more in the following year and to have received a considerable sum of money in advance. The commerce of the coast north of Mozambique was at this time entirely in French hands.

The council that had the management of the African trade had conducted it in such a manner that by the year 1734 it was two hundred thousand cruzados in debt, and was then borrowing money at the rate of thirty per cent yearly interest to meet its most pressing needs. This could not continue, and in 1739, when some of its members were found guilty of speculation, it was abolished, and the traffic was undertaken directly by the treasury, just as in the early years of the sixteenth century. This system, however, lasted only until the 29th of March 1755, when a royal decree was issued, reserving the traffic in beads as a monopoly of the treasury and throwing open all other trade to anyone who chose to engage in it, upon payment of licenses and customs duties. Thereafter the principal officials carried it on almost exclusively, taking care to manage things in such a way that private individuals could not compete with them.

From this time forward the character of the commerce of South-Eastern Africa underwent a gradual change. Constant wars almost destroyed the collection of gold and ivory, and instead of these articles slaves were exported in ever increasing numbers. The prazos at a distance from the Zambesi were successively wrested from their European holders, and reverted to the condition of pure Bantu territory, so that it was no longer an object for a Portuguese resident in the country to have a large personal following. A few slaves for domestic service were all that he needed, and so whole hordes of the unhappy creatures were sold to strangers or to be conveyed to the plantations of Brazil. At the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century this odious traffic was at its height, and our own countrymen were not the least busy of those who were taking in shiploads of negroes from the barracoons at Kilimane and Luabo.

At Inhambane only was trade conducted as in the early days. The back country abounded with elephants, and their tusks were used by the Bantu to exchange at the Portuguese trading station for beads, copper plates, brass wire, and other merchandise of the kind. A description of this place in

1771 given by some wrecked Dutch seamen who were hospitably treated at the fort shows that the garrison consisted of a captain and thirty-six soldiers, and that eight or ten private individuals were residing at the place in huts little better than those of the Bantu. They were all convicts banished to Inhambane either for life or for a term of years, and were occupied in collecting ivory, which was sent to Mozambique in a vessel that came for it once a year.

In 1763 municipal government was introduced into the little settlements. A delegate of the governor went round, and with as much ceremony as possible inaugurated the new system. At Mozambique, Kilimane, and Zumbo, north of the Zambesi, and at Tete, Sena, Sofala, and Inhambane, south of that river, a magistrate, a prosecutor who was also treasurer, a secretary, and three aldermen were elected. But in most of these places municipal institutions were mere names. There was not a sufficient number of people competent to fill the offices, much less an adequate body of electors. There was no revenue, nor any means of raising one. The only purpose served was to make a show on paper, for no object of utility could be gained by such parodies of European town governments.

The Mohamedan population of the Portuguese stations had always been treated with harshness. These people had in general sunk into a servile state, and were not formidable either in spirit or in number. They still carried on some of the retail trade among the Bantu, they furnished crews for the pangayos and luzios employed on the coast, and performed other services that required more skill than that of pure negroes. In 1727 the viceroy João de Saldanha da Gama decreed that they must sell to Christians all slaves brought by them from the interior within six months after reaching the coast, in 1728 he prohibited them from buying baptized slaves, and in 1730 he issued a final order that they could only hold slaves whose fathers and grandfathers had been Mohamedans, or heathen slaves if they caused them to

become Christians and did not attempt to pervert them, but they were not to sell slaves except to Christians nor to take them to any country not under Portuguese dominion. Care was taken to prevent them from making converts to their creed among the free Bantu. And at length, from fear that they might assist their co-religionists in case of an attack by the Mohamedans of the north, it was resolved to expel them altogether. In 1765 they were driven from Sofala, and between that year and 1769 many were compelled to remove from Mozambique and the banks of the Zambesi. But as they could only take shelter in other parts of the country where they would be equally dangerous, they were gradually allowed to return, though they were not permitted to own or carry arms.

As regards mission work in South-Eastern Africa in the eighteenth century, there is not much that is satisfactory to be related. The Dominican order, to whom the task of christianising the Bantu south of the Zambesi was mainly entrusted, was very largely affected by the prevailing lassitude and decay of public spirit in the nation, and so many of its members were either Asiatics, Africans, or mixed breeds that little zeal could be expected from it. In 1719 by a royal order all the missionaries in the country who were not vicars of churches or commissioners of the inquisition were removed, as they were believed to be doing more harm than good to the Christian cause. Again in 1725 seven of them were recalled for misconduct. The reformed Franciscans were at this time permitted to collect alms in the country, and had the privilege of removing eleven hundred and eighty kilogrammes weight of ivory from the Rivers every year free of duty. This should have stimulated the Dominicans to reform themselves, as it showed that others might be sent to take their places, but it did not have that effect. In 1728 so many complaints were made regarding their manner of living that the king caused a notification to be made to the superior of the order in Goa that if better men were not employed in the mission field the whole of

those who were there would be removed, and Jesuits or secular priests be sent to replace them. Beyond doubt the superior did all that was in his power to correct abuses, but the prevailing habits of most of the men he had to deal with were not to be overcome. In 1751, according to the yearly report furnished to the viceroy, the Dominicans had two friars at Sena, one at Tete, one at Sofala, three at different outstations south of the Zambesi, and one at Zumbo, the most distant trading station in the interior, on the northern bank of the great river. It was intended, however, to send five others to the country in the course of the year. The Jesuits were still represented at Sena, but had abandoned all their other stations south of the Zambesi.

On the 1st of September 1759 the famous decree was signed by King José I, at the instance of the marquis of Pombal, by which the Jesuits were expelled from all the possessions of Portugal. Their usefulness as evangelists among the heathen was denied, and their property everywhere was confiscated. At Mozambique their house was converted into a residence for the governor. But the minister was not satisfied with this, and did not cease his antagonism until Pope Clement XIV issued a brief, on the 23rd of July 1773, which suppressed the famous order. It had then nearly twenty-three thousand professed members. Banished from Roman Catholic countries, and disowned by the pope, the Company of Jesus continued to exist in Russia, however, until its restoration by a bull of Pope Pius VII, issued on the 7th of August 1814.

In 1775 the Dominicans in South-Eastern Africa were ordered to Goa, and were replaced by secular clergy, eight of whom were considered sufficient for the whole coast. Of these eight only three were white men, the others being Asiatic mixed breeds, with a great deal of conceit but very little ability. In 1749 the officials at Mozambique had petitioned the king that the ecclesiastical administrator might have power conferred upon him to ordain priests, in which respect—and in this only—his authority was less than

that of a bishop. They stated that the population of the island was growing, and they were of opinion that people of the country, who understood the language of the Bantu inhabitants, if ordained, would be more useful than strangers. The petition was referred to the viceroy, the marquis of Tavora, who replied in 1751 that on his passage out he had been detained two months at Mozambique, and had observed that the number of persons there qualified for admittance to holy orders was extremely small, so he saw no reason for a change. The matter was then allowed to drop. And so, between wars, invasions, and want of competent teachers, Christianity declined in Portuguese South Africa, and among the Bantu quite died out. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there were only twelve hundred and seventy-seven professing Christians in the whole region south of Cape Delgado, and they comprised the white people and mixed breeds of both sexes and all ages. In addition to these there were in the different villages five hundred and eighty-nine free individuals who were not professing Christians, making one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six persons in all. This was the condition of things after intercourse between the Caucasian and black races extending over nearly three hundred years.

An attempt was made in the middle of the eighteenth century to induce the Portuguese and mixed breeds of the lost Asiatic settlements to colonise South Africa. Many of these people had removed to Goa, where there was nothing for them to do. They were offered free passages and grants of land along the Zambesi, but the country had acquired such an evil reputation that they declined to attempt to make homes in it. In January 1753 the viceroy—the same marquis of Tavora who was so soon thereafter to lose his head in Lisbon for participation, real or imaginary, in the conspiracy that is known by his name—reported that not a single family could be persuaded to remove.

But it would not be correct to attribute such an utter failure to christianise the Bantu and to improve the country

as has been described in the last few pages either wholly to want of zealous teachers, or to an incapacity of the Bantu to assimilate European thought, or to want of energy on the part of the Portuguese. Without colonisation on a sufficiently large scale to make the higher indisputably the ruling race, no part of Africa can be brought permanently within the domains of civilisation, and for settlement by Caucasians the portion of the continent along the Indian ocean north of Delagoa Bay was then not at all adapted. On the lower terraces facing the sea and on the banks of the Zambesi fever is endemic, and white children rarely grow up. On the highlands of the interior and in some localities on the third terrace upward from the ocean the climate is healthy, but under the conditions which existed before the middle of the nineteenth century it was not possible to plant colonies there. White people could only make their way gradually onward from the south, and even now, though there is a railroad through the fever and tsetse fly belt down to the nearest coast, the southern route is preferred by nearly every one. Portugal with her limited means cannot justly be blamed for not doing what the wealthiest and most populous country of Europe must have failed to accomplish if an attempt had been made.

During the greater part of the eighteenth century Delagoa Bay was neglected by the Portuguese. In 1755 a trading party from Mozambique occupied for a few weeks a site on the southern bank of the Espirito Santo, just as others had done on one of the islands during the preceding century, but they resided there temporarily on sufferance of the Bantu chief, not at all as proprietors.

In June 1757 the Dutch ship *Naarstigheid* put into the bay dismasted and so leaky that it was with difficulty she could be kept afloat. Her crew remained there over two years before they were relieved, without seeing or hearing of any Portuguese. The country around was thoroughly explored, and several men, while endeavouring to make their way to the Cape of Good Hope, travelled beyond Port Natal. At the

farthest point which they reached they found some half-breeds, children of two Englishmen who had been saved from a wrecked ship. They also learned that a Dutch vessel had recently visited Port Natal. At that time the most powerful chief in the neighbourhood of the bay was a man named Mangova, who was the ruler of the tribe along the Tembe river, and who had the hereditary title of kapela, just as the chief of the Makaranga had the hereditary title of monomotapa. The tribe that occupied the island Inyaka and the peninsula south of it was then in a state of vassalage to him.

In 1775 a gentleman named William Bolts, who had been in the service of the English East India Company in Bengal, but had left that occupation under a feeling of resentment at the treatment he had received, formed a project for establishing a new trading company on the shores of the Indian sea. Aided by some capitalists in Antwerp he formed an association termed the Asiatic Company of Trieste, which obtained a charter from the empress Maria Theresa granting full power to enter into commercial and colonising arrangements with independent rulers in Asia and Africa, and conferring many important privileges, together with a commission as lieutenant-colonel, upon its founder.

In September 1776 Colonel Bolts sailed from Leghorn with a number of adventurers of various nationalities and a company of soldiers in a large ship well armed and carrying a cargo of goods believed to be suitable for the eastern trade. It was not an undertaking of much magnitude, but it might lead to something more extensive, so considerable opposition was roused, and at Madeira, where the ship touched, assistance of every kind was refused. The English East India Company also sent instructions to its officials everywhere not to permit provisions to be sold or water to be supplied to the Austrians at any place where it could be prevented. Colonel Bolts therefore did not touch at any port after leaving Madeira until he reached Delagoa Bay, where it was his intention to form a trading station.

No Europeans of any nationality were found there when the expedition arrived, but there was a Bengalese who professed to be a Mohamedan living with the Bantu, and he made himself extremely useful as an interpreter. Through his agency after a short time a purchase of ground on each side of the mouth of the Maputa river was made from the chiefs Kapela and Matola, and possession was formally taken of it by the Englishman Colonel Bolts in the name of the Austrian empress Maria Theresa. Meantime two vessels under the British flag, commanded respectively by Captains McKenny and Cahill, had arrived from Bombay for the purpose of trading for ivory, and their officers and crews were present as spectators when the Austrian ensign was hoisted.

Some temporary houses and stores were then erected near the mouth of the Maputa and also on Inyaka island, and trade was commenced. After a stay of four months, when everything seemed to be in good working order, Colonel Bolts proceeded to India in his ship, leaving Mr. A. D. Pollet in charge during his absence. On the Malabar coast he purchased three small vessels suitable for trading between India and Africa, and sent them to Delagoa Bay with Indian wares required in commerce with the Bantu and provisions for the people at the station. Some Asiatic artificers were also engaged at Surat and sent to Delagoa Bay, by whom better houses were put up for the people and a thirteen gun battery was erected at the mouth of the Maputa. A Mohamedan teacher was also engaged, and was sent with his family to the station to attempt the conversion of the Bantu, as Colonel Bolts believed that they certainly would not adopt Christianity and that Mohamedanism would be better than no religion at all. He was not aware that they had an object of worship, as he saw no rites or ceremonies of any kind practised by them.

After Colonel Bolts' return, some trade in ivory was carried on, and the little vessels were kept pretty busy. He formed plans for cultivating sugarcane and cotton, and

for inducing the Bantu to grow rice and vegetables for sale. He purposed further to open up a trade in gold with the people away in the north, and to form a branch station high up on the bank of the Maputa. The people were suffering from fever, but he thought that would soon pass away and they would become acclimatised. To carry out his projects it was necessary for him to return to Europe, to renew interest in his undertaking and to obtain further means for carrying it on. He accordingly sailed in the ship, leaving the station as he thought in security.

No Portuguese had ever been seen there by the Austrians, but nearly two years after the formation of the station the viceroy at Goa came to learn of its existence, and as soon as he could do so he sent a protest against its continuance, on the ground that the shores of the bay were Portuguese territory. Soon after this Colonel Bolts arrived in Europe, where he found that the empress Maria Theresa had recently died, and the minister Prince Kaunitz was indisposed to assist him. Upon a protest from the Portuguese government reaching Vienna, the prince even withdrew the company's charter and left it to its fate.

An order was then sent from Lisbon to the viceroy to endeavour to assert his right by force of arms, and in consequence the frigate *Santa Anna* was sent from Goa with three hundred soldiers to expel the Austrians. Meantime the people at the bay were stricken with fever in a very severe form, and in a quarrel with the Bantu some of the principal officers were killed and the station on the island of Inyaka was destroyed.

On the 30th of March 1781 the *Santa Anna* reached her destination. Two of the little unarmed vessels under the Austrian flag were in the bay when she arrived, both of which were seized and sent to Goa. The few fever-stricken people at the fort on the Maputa river were incapable of offering resistance, so the Portuguese commandant, Joachim Vicente

Godinho de Mira, made them prisoners, and destroyed the whole establishment.

To prevent other powers from taking possession of the place on the ground of its being unoccupied, it was now considered necessary to erect a small fort there, and in January 1782 the captain Joaquim d'Araujo was sent with a few men from Mozambique for that purpose. The captain's death, sickness among the men, and the hostility of the Bantu prevented the completion of the design, and in 1783 the acting captain, João Henriques d'Almeida, abandoned it and returned to Mozambique. In 1784 another party was sent with the same object, but was wrecked at the Bazaruta islands. In 1785 still another expedition was made ready, and this one was successful, for in 1787 a small fort was completed on the site which the Dutch had occupied more than half a century earlier on the northern bank of the Espirito Santo. A trading establishment was added to it, and now, for the first time, the Portuguese occupation was more than transient.

In 1794 civil war broke out in the kapela's tribe, and José Correia Monteiro de Mattos, commandant of the little fort, by taking part with one of the combatants obtained a nominal deed of cession of the whole Kapela country to Portugal. The document was dated 10th of November 1794, but no steps were taken to assert authority of any kind over the Bantu or the territory.

In October 1796 two French frigates entered the bay and destroyed the fort, which was then occupied by an unusually strong garrison of eighty men. The Portuguese retired into the back country, where they lived in the greatest discomfort until May 1797, when a vessel arrived from Mozambique and rescued most of them.

For some years British and American whalers had frequented the bay and made of it a base of operations, just as the buccaneers and illicit traders had done at the beginning of the century. They did not trouble themselves about any question of ownership, but came and went as suited their convenience, and trafficked with the Bantu without any recog-

nition of Portuguese authority or customs laws. In June 1798 the British Indiaman *Lion* put in there in distress, and found three English and three American whaling ships at anchor. Captain Sever, who commanded her, engaged the three British vessels to take his cargo home, as the *Lion* was not seaworthy. She was anchored in the river, abreast of the site of the fort, which the French had levelled with the ground. Several Portuguese soldiers and a few Mohamedans of the coast were living in the neighbourhood, expecting a vessel from Mozambique with the next favourable monsoon to take them away.

The place remained without a garrison until the 7th of June 1799, when the captain Louis José arrived with a detachment of troops from Mozambique. There was war at the time among the Bantu on the northern side of the Espirito Santo, so he entrenched himself on the other bank, where he remained about a year, when with comparative safety he was able to remove to the site of the destroyed fort and rebuild it.

At the close of the eighteenth century the trading and mission stations that had once existed in the interior were so completely lost that no one could even point out their sites, and all vestiges of the influence once exercised by the Portuguese in the Karanga country had disappeared. The Bantu tribes of earlier days had been entirely broken up, and the ancient titles had been forgotten, except that of kiteve, which remained until 1803, when the chief Fika, the last who bore it, died. Most of the descendants of the people whom the Europeans had found in the country in the sixteenth century had been exterminated, and strangers from the distant north had taken their places. Tete, Sena, and a few prazos along the lower Zambesi and in the neighbourhood of Sofala, with the forts at Inhambane and Lourenço Marques comprised the Portuguese dominions in South Africa, and these were held with very feeble hands. Commerce was almost confined to the export of slaves. Depression and decay were visible everywhere, and no feature of a pleasing kind, except a slightly increased knowledge of the country towards the west, is to be found at this period.

From very early days there was a desire on the part of the government at Lisbon to form a connection between the eastern coast and Angola by means of a caravan path, but it was impossible to open such a road. The tribes in the way were constantly at war, they spoke different dialects, and each one was ready to strip a traveller who should attempt to pass through its territory. Trifling articles of merchandise, which probably changed hands many times in transit, passed over at long intervals from coast to coast, but no individual, white or black, is known to have accomplished the journey before the nineteenth century, nor was any reliable information obtained concerning the upper course of the Zambesi or the territory south of it.

In May 1796 a man named Manuel Caetano Pereira, the son of a Goanese and a negress, left Tete for a journey inland, and upon his return reported that he had reached the residence of the chief Kazembe, in about longitude 29° east of Greenwich, but the information he gave was confused and could not be relied upon. He accompanied the expedition of 1798, and was found to have no knowledge of value.

On the 3rd of July 1798 an expedition properly equipped by the government, and commanded by Dr. Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida, a gentleman of scientific attainments, great general ability, and much previous experience in Brazilian and African travel, left Tete with the object of trying to reach the western coast. Dr. Lacerda's instructions, issued in the name of the queen, were that he should ascertain the source of the Kunene river which flows into the Atlantic, find out if a road for commerce could not be opened between the two coasts, and report upon the condition of the tribes on the route and the means necessary for bringing them into the Christian fold. The expedition consisted of fifteen to twenty Portuguese and mixed breeds, fifty so-called soldiers, and a number ever varying from one to four hundred slaves and native porters. Dissension among the Europeans and mixed breeds was rife from the beginning of the journey, and it was with great difficulty that the resolute leader

preserved anything like order among them. Frequent desertion of slaves and hired porters also caused great annoyance and delay.

After encountering all the difficulties of African travel where the tribes are uncontrolled, the expedition arrived at the kraal of Kazembe, but there the leader, worn out with fever, fatigue, and annoyance, died on the 18th of October. The chaplain Francisco João Pinto then took command. He did not attempt to proceed farther, and after remaining with Kazembe until July 1799, set out to return to Tete, which place he reached on the 22nd of November of the same year. The results of this expedition were meagre, though some knowledge of the country to the north-west was obtained.

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submission to the crown of Portugal and payment of tribute from every town along the coast, 133; acts with fearful barbarity towards all who resist, *ib.*; utterly destroys Kuryat, 134; and Muskat, *ib.*; at the end of September reaches Ormuz, 135; where his demand is not complied with, *ib.*; so he destroys a great number of vessels in the port, *ib.*; after which Ormuz submits and agrees to pay tribute, *ib.*; he is deserted by three of his captains, who abandon him and proceed to Cochin, 136; with two ships goes on a cruise, 137; and being joined by two others from Portugal, returns to Ormuz, which he reaches on the 13th of September 1508, *ib.*; having destroyed the town of Kalhat on the passage, 138; his demands not being complied with, he does as much damage as he can to Ormuz, and then proceeds to India, *ib.*; in November 1508 produces at Cananor a commission from the king appointing him captain-general and governor of India, 141; but Dom Francisco d'Almeida refuses to transfer the authority, and after a while Albuquerque is placed in confinement, *ib.*; from which he is released by Dom Fernando Coutinho, and on the 5th of November 1509 is installed as captain-general and governor of India, 147; with Dom Fernando Coutinho on the 3rd of January 1510 attacks Calicut, 151; but is wounded and is carried to a boat in which he gets away, 152; at the end of January 1510 sails from Cochin with a strong fleet, 153; at the river of Onor is joined by a flotilla under the Hindu corsair Timoja, *ib.*; on the 17th of February 1510 takes possession of the city of Goa, where he is well received by the Hindu section of the inhabitants, *ib.*; on the 31st of May is compelled by Yusuf Adil Shah to retire to his ships, 154; is unable to get out of the river until August, when he returns to Cochin, *ib.*; just after sailing meets Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos with four ships, and persuades him to assist in the reconquest of Goa, *ib.*; with a strong fleet and army leaves Cananor, and on the 20th of November 1510 arrives at Goa again, 155; on the 25th takes the city by storm, 156; orders a general massacre of the Mohamedan population, *ib.*; and gives their property to his soldiers as spoil, *ib.*; causes some hundreds of his soldiers to marry captive native women and to settle in Goa as colonists, *ib.*; and makes regulations by which Goa soon becomes a splendid city, 157; on the 2nd of May 1511 with a strong fleet and army sails from Cochin for Malacca, 158; touches at the port of Pedir in Sumatra, 159; on the 1st of July arrives at Malacca, *ib.*; demands the surrender to him of Ruy de Araujo and the other Portuguese prisoners, 160; upon the sultan's evasion of this demand sets

fire to some buildings and some vessels, *ib.*; upon which the prisoners are released, *ib.*; now demands a site for a fortress and an enormous sum of money as damages, *ib.*; which severe terms are not complied with, *ib.*; on the 25th of July lands with his army, but is obliged to retire, *ib.*; on the 8th of August renews the attack, and after some days' fighting makes himself master of the city, *ib.*; which he fortifies strongly and retains as a permanent Portuguese possession, 161; he establishes a mint there, 162; and makes liberal regulations for the government, 163; having appointed officials and provided for the security of Malacca, he leaves for Goa, *ib.*; upon his arrival at Cochin he learns that Goa has been besieged for a long time, but is still holding out, 164; as soon as he can collect sufficient force goes to the relief of that city, and compels the enemy to withdraw and make peace, *ib.*; inflicts terrible punishment upon some renegades, 165; next attempts to get possession of Aden, 166; on the 18th of February 1513 with a strong fleet and land force sails from Goa for that purpose, *ib.*; but fails in his attack on the town, *ib.*; then sails into the Red sea, where he loses many men from sickness, *ib.*; returns to Aden, where he destroys some shipping, 167; and proceeds thence to Diu, where he establishes a factory, *ib.*; captures a number of vessels belonging to Mohamedans of Calicut, *ib.*; makes peace with the new zamorin, and builds a stronghold in the city, *ib.*; on the 21st of February 1515 sails from Goa with all the force he can muster, 170; and on the 26th of March arrives at Ormuz, *ib.*; he makes demands upon the government, which are complied with, 171; orders Racz Hamet to be killed, and is then master of Ormuz and its dependencies, 172; makes arrangements for the government, *ib.*; constructs a strong fortress and removes the artillery from all other parts of the city, 173; in ill health leaves Ormuz to return to Goa, *ib.*; on the passage meets a vessel from Diu with letters announcing his removal from office by the king, *ib.*; he desires to live no longer, and on the 16th of December 1515 dies on the bar of Goa, 174

D'ALBUQUERQUE, FRANCISCO :

on the 14th of April 1503 sails from Lisbon for India as commander of a fleet of three ships, 106; arrives at Cochin just in time to save that place from destruction by the zamorin of Calicut, 107; agrees to terms of peace with the zamorin, 108; on the 31st of January 1504 leaves India with three ships, and is never heard of again, *ib.*

D'ALBOQUERQUE, DOM JOÃO :

in March 1539 assumes duty at Goa as first bishop of India, 243

D'ALBOQUERQUE, JORGE :

in June 1514 becomes captain of Malacca, 168

D'ALBOQUERQUE, PEDRO :

in 1514 captures a number of vessels in the gulf of Aden and explores the Persian gulf, 168; in 1515 becomes captain of Ormuz, 172

D'ALCAÇOVA, DIOGO :

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ALEXANDRIA :

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ALGARVES, EMIRATE OF THE :

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D'ALMEIDA, ANTONIO CARDOSO :

is left by Vasco Fernandes Homem in charge of two hundred men in a fort on the Zambesi; sends out a raiding party to obtain millet and cattle; is besieged by the Bantu until his provisions fail, when he tries to cut his way out, and is killed with all his men, 276

D'ALMEIDA, DOM FRANCISCO :

particulars concerning, 115; on the 25th of March 1505 sails from the Tagus with a large fleet for India, where after the erection of certain fortresses he is to assume the title of viceroy, *ib.*; on the 22nd of July reaches Kilwa, 116; on the 24th seizes and sacks the town, 117; builds and garrisons a fort there, *ib.*; and establishes a government tributary to Portugal, 118; on the 13th of August arrives at Mombasa, 119; where he is received in a hostile manner, *ib.*; after severe fighting takes the town by storm, pillages, and burns it, 121; makes large presents to the friendly ruler of Melinde, and then sails for India, 122; builds and garrisons a fort at Anjediva, *ib.*; enters into an agreement of close friendship with the Hindu corsair Timoja, 123; proceeds to Cananor, where he builds a fortified factory, and then assumes the title of viceroy, *ib.*; takes and destroys Dabul, 141; on the 3rd of February 1509 defeats and utterly destroys the fleet under the emir Husain at Diu, 143; on the return passage to Cochin makes Chaul tributary to the king of Portugal, 145; on the 5th of November 1509 is succeeded in office by Affonso d'Albuquerque, 147; on the 19th of the same month he leaves Cochin to return to Portugal, *ib.*; puts into Table Bay on the passage, and there, on the 1st of March 1510 is killed in a combat with Hottentots, 148

D'ALMEIDA, DOM LOURENÇO, SON OF THE FIRST VICEROY OF INDIA :

assists in the seizure of Kilwa, 117; and in the reduction of Mombasa, 120; destroys a number of vessels at Quilon, 125; in 1506 is the first European to visit Ceylon, 126; is killed in battle with the Egyptian fleet at Chaul, 139

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D'ANAYA, PEDRO:

on the 18th of May 1505 with six ships under his command sails from the Tagus, 183; early in September arrives at the bar of Sofala, 184; obtains permission from the sheik Isuf to build a fort at Sofala, 188; on the 21st of September 1505 commences the work, 189; which after three months' labour is completed, 190; he then sends three of his ships to India, *ib.*; in January 1506 defends the fort successfully when attacked, 193; a few days later dies of fever, 196

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95; where he opens a factory, *ib.*; on the 16th of November
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a factory, *ib.*; he next visits Cananor, where he completes the
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da Gama will only agree to impossible terms, 104; in 1503 the zamorin makes war against Cochin and nearly succeeds in crushing his opponent when a Portuguese fleet arrives and compels him to retire, 106; in this year he agrees to very onerous terms of peace imposed by Francisco d'Albuquerque, 108; but owing to a quarrel with some boatmen hostilities are renewed, *ib.*; in 1504 the zamorin again attacks Cochin with an immense force, 110; a little later the city is bombarded for two days by Lopo Soares d'Albergaria, 112; in 1507 the zamorin assists the raja of Cananor against the Portuguese, 126; on the 3rd of January 1510 the city is attacked by a strong Portuguese force under Affonso d'Albuquerque and Dom Fernando Coutinho, 151; but the invaders are driven back discomfited, 152; in 1512 the zamorin renews his efforts to conclude peace with the Portuguese, but finds Albuquerque's terms too onerous, 165; in 1513 the zamorin is poisoned by his brother, who succeeds him and assists the Portuguese to build a stronghold in the city, 167

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